



The

INDEPENDENT

MONDAY 19 SEPTEMBER 2022

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Britain reaches a turning point

By Suzannah Lipscomb



Editorials

We should strive to copy the Queen's civility

Westminster Abbey will be the venue – a place that has borne witness to some of the most important events in the life of Queen Elizabeth, including her wedding and her coronation.

Today's state funeral marks the poignant climax of a historic era: the passing of a monarch who has been a constant presence for most of the British people. Whatever our views of the monarchy as an institution, we can all recognise the significance of the events of the past week and a half.

Beyond the recognition of the Queen's 70 years of public service, at the centre of all the pageantry is a family that has lost a loved one – an experience we will all endure at some point in our lives. The thousands who stood for hours on end to pay their final respects to the late monarch illustrate this strength of feeling.

Yes, some came to honour what the Queen represents, but many were also drawn to pay tribute to Elizabeth II as a person. Interviews with those who were happy to join that line as it snaked its way across London – a line that by 6.30 this morning will have faded away – highlight the sense that her civility is regarded as a quality we should all seek to emulate.

Looking at the images of the queue over recent days and nights, the pull of such emotion is easy to see. It inspired people to travel from all over the country, and from thousands of miles beyond, and those who joined the line were quick to speak of the friendly nature of their fellow mourners. It might be easy for some to scoff at the thought of waiting for hours in the cold, but the distance the queue has spanned over the past few days is indicative of the need of many to mark, collectively, the end of an era.

We are in a phase in which time seems to have gained some temporary new powers. For some, it will have stopped completely during the period of mourning; for others, less so – and each to their own. But this phase will come to an end later today.

A one-minute silence was held yesterday evening, which people were encouraged to mark in their individual way – whether at home, with friends or neighbours, or at community events. Another two-minute silence will be held at the end of today's state funeral. Each allows a moment for contemplation of what has gone before, but the second will mark the end, at least symbolically, of this period of national spectacle. The country has changed, and yet it has not.

Thenceforth, we will begin to return to normality. The death of the Queen has meant that economic and political issues have been pushed into the background, but they are still there. The sense of unity that many have felt during the past 10 days, however performative it may have been, will be needed as the broader issues the country faces come back into focus.

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The world is witnessing an amazing piece of history

As the emotional public response tells us, Queen Elizabeth provided an example and a legacy that cannot be dismissed



A portrait of the Queen has been released by Buckingham Palace – it was taken by Ranald Mackechnie in May before the Platinum Jubilee celebrations at Windsor Castle (AP)

There have been, simultaneously, two things happening this past week: the demise of a sovereign and the making of a king. This duality is what has made the week's events and the public response to them so mesmerising, and also so loaded with historical weight.

In these 10 days, we not only reckon with who we have been, but we grapple with who, as a nation, we want to become. As the Queen's biographer, Ben Pimlott, put it: "The death of a British monarch changes little in practical terms ... Yet – in a way that is hard to define – it affects the mood."

In this liminal period, King Charles's visibility in the ceremony marking his mother's death has been a crucial part of the visual transition. In practice, of course, we had seen this long before. His appointment as her successor as head of the Commonwealth in 2018, his presence beside her at the state opening of parliament in 2019, and his acting in her stead before the Cenotaph on Remembrance Sunday and at the state opening of parliament this year were all moments of deliberate preparation to ensure that the constancy of the Queen translates into continuity with the King.

Over the past week, he has been everywhere, his actions signalling the priorities of the crown. In his first address and his speech before parliament, King Charles III pledged his commitment to the constitution and his deference to parliament, in the very hall where another king, his own namesake, was tried for not doing so.



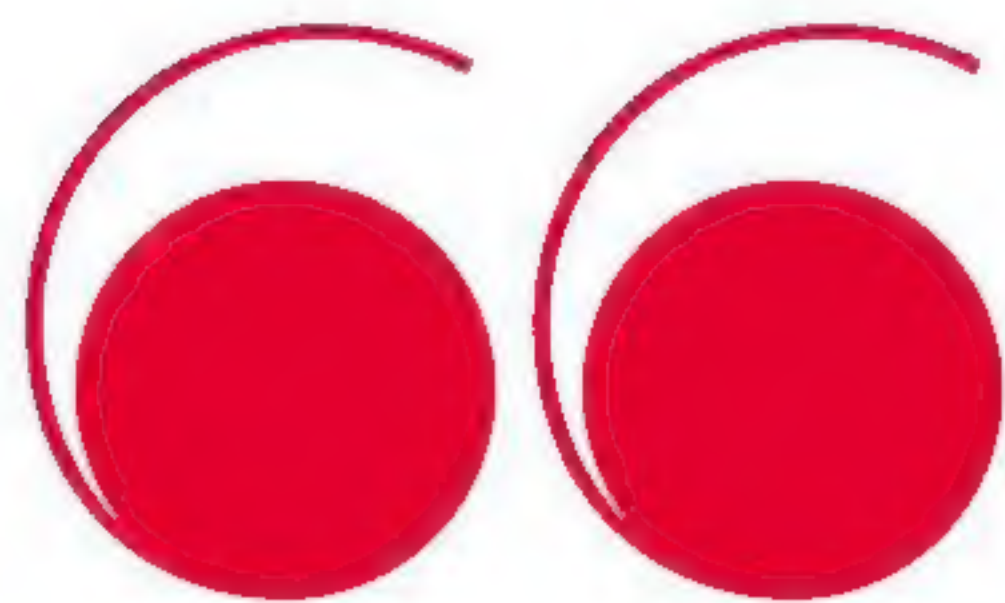
People queue along the South Bank to pay their respects to the late Queen Elizabeth II (Reuters)

His visits to the devolved nations, his speech in Welsh at the Senedd, even the vigil at St Giles's Cathedral in Edinburgh have all gestured towards the importance of the union. He has assured faith leaders that he will protect diversity and the practice of all “religions, cultures, traditions, and beliefs”, including secular beliefs. He has appeared countless times to greet the public, adopting a two-handed approach that carries a kind of warmth and intimacy with it, since he holds as well as shakes hands. And there has been a surprising amount of public performance of grief by the royal family, including the first vigil by a woman – the Princess Royal – and by grandchildren, including an actual child – the 14-year-old, James, Viscount Severn – with his parents looking anxiously on.

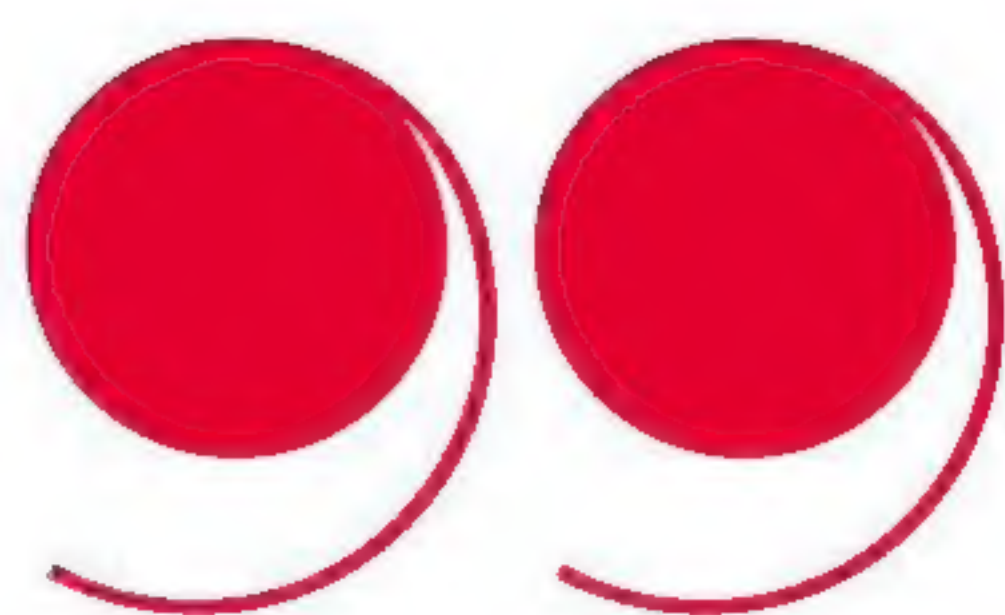
The public response has been fascinating (one wit quipped that there are two kinds of people in the United Kingdom: those in The Queue and those watching those in The Queue). Stephen Reicher, a professor of psychology who studies crowds, has rightly pointed out that there are many reasons for people to wait in line: many want to belong to something greater than themselves or to feel that they played some role in the making of this moment of history.

There is a range of emotions that may be channelled by grieving the Queen: mourning the loss of their own mothers and grandmothers, expressing the accumulated horror of the

pandemic or fear at the cost of living crisis, or bidding farewell to their own younger selves. Reicher, who has previously written about how Hindus at the Magh Mela in near-freezing conditions understand the cold to shape their identity as pilgrims, argues that the “ordeal” of queuing is a crucial part of the experience.



And there have been so many of them: public viewing of the lying-in-state was originally planned to end on Saturday, but now terminates 36 hours later



It is as if we are viewing a kind of mass exercise in penance. And yet, if one switches on the live feed in the morning to see people, who have been awake and on their feet throughout these uncharacteristically chilly September nights, shuffling into the hush of the ancient hall at Westminster so that they may bob or nod for a second before the coffin, before moving on, it is impossible to dismiss the obvious: that this is a palpable expression of reverence, affection, and gratitude for Her Majesty the Queen.

The need to endure the transitory hardship of the queue is perceived by those waiting to be a way of acknowledging the Queen’s own service. “She gave 70 years,” they say, “standing for a few hours is the least I can do”. Or as John Milton put it: “They also serve who only stand and wait.” And there have been so many of them: public viewing of the lying-in-state was originally planned to end on Saturday, but now terminates 36 hours later.

There has also been criticism – both those voices of dissent raised and alarmingly silenced in public spaces, and a strong strand of comment that uses the Queen’s death to point towards the monarchy as the symbol of the crimes of the British empire. We should be aghast at the revelations that have emerged about the scale and nature of these atrocities, and how recent they are. The torture camps used against 150,000 Mau Mau suspects in Kenya in the 1950s were straight out of the Nazi playbook, with reports of the British abuse of Africans including castration, rape, sexual assault, starvation, electrocution, and sleep deprivation.

There must be a reckoning for these crimes – and yet the choice of target is curious. No one claims that there is any evidence that the Queen knew of these brutalities, let alone approved them. And we can name those who did: the governor of Kenya, Evelyn Baring, and colonial secretary Alan Lennox-Boyd, a Conservative politician who repeatedly denied the abuses, despite receiving memoranda and reports detailing the atrocities. In a constitutional monarchy, it is confusing to find these historic crimes by elected politicians being laid at the Queen’s door.



King Charles has appeared many times recently to greet the public (Getty)

In June, when still a prince, Charles spoke to Commonwealth heads of government in Rwanda and expressed his personal regret and the “depths of his personal sorrow” for the suffering

wrought by slavery. He remarked that the Commonwealth could not move forward without acknowledging the “wrongs of the past”. Surely, the same is true for the crown and empire. At a minimum, now is the time for royal honours to change their name – for an OBE to become an Order of British Excellence.

Yet, the future must be, as the palace has been so keen to suggest, about continuity as well as change. As the public response and the gathering of world leaders tells us, the Queen herself provided an example and a legacy that cannot be dismissed.

In the absence of a written constitution, she created a role for a modern constitutional monarch in the face of the country’s declining geopolitical power. At her coronation, the then archbishop of Canterbury, Dr Geoffrey Fisher, argued that the diminution of the temporal power of the crown did not reduce the importance of her role but enhanced it. It gave her, he said, the “possibility of a spiritual power ... the power to lead, to inspire, to unite, by the sovereign’s personal character, personal convictions, personal example”.

This, the Queen had, and the Commonwealth – with its record of condemning racial discrimination and amplifying the voices of poor nations – was one of its most obvious manifestations. The evidence suggests that the hereditary nature of royal power may have, rather miraculously, given us a new monarch who can heed his mother’s personal example, while making clear his commitment to change.

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Campers give Mall a festival feel before Queen's funeral

As the queue to view the monarch's coffin is closed last night



For many of those waiting, this is not, so to speak, their first royal rodeo (AP)

COLIN DRURY

THE MALL, LONDON

Sitting in a folding chair, Elizabeth Allingham was well prepared for a night camping out on The Mall. She'd brought books, playing cards, candles, a bottle of champagne – with accompanying flutes – and a picnic charcuterie platter. So

organised was the 53-year-old barrister, she'd even come armed with a tea towel (a commemorative jubilee one, of course) to keep wasps off her food.

The only thing missing, perhaps, was a camp bed or tent. "But I won't be doing much sleeping tonight, anyway," she said. "It's too exciting." Thus grew the air of anticipation – some might call it festival vibes – along this famous London thoroughfare the evening before the Queen's funeral.



Andrew Horner and Elizabeth Allingham, from Leicester, had come well prepared (Colin Drury)

Allingham – who had travelled from Leicester – was one of thousands staying the night here in order to get a front-row spot for the procession of Elizabeth II's coffin from Westminster Abbey to Wellington Arch.

The campers had come from across the UK, armed with tents, flasks, tin-foil sheets, picnic food, puzzle books, games and, as it turned out, not an insignificant amount of booze. Was this appropriate in the black-tie circumstances? Yes, said one: the day itself would be a sombre, respectful affair, but the night before should be a celebration of a life well lived and a reign well ruled.



Tents went up along the Mall as people reserved a spot for the procession (AP)

Allingham, for what it's worth, had also brought a bumper box of tissues. "I'm enjoying the atmosphere today," she said. "But I know I'll be crying buckets tomorrow."

She had come with a colleague, 30-year-old Andrew Horner, who, despite being a royalist, admitted he had needed some arm-twisting to join the endeavour. "But I'm warming to it now," he said. "Although that may be the brandy."

For many, this was not, so to speak, their first royal rodeo. Linda McQuaid, 66, said she had been camping out at such events since 1986, when Prince Andrew married Sarah Ferguson.



Linda McQuaid first camped out to see the royal family at Prince Andrew's wedding in 1986 (Colin Drury)

Her Mall neighbour – and new friend – Heather Savage, 52, had earned her stripes during Princess Diana's funeral in 1997. Both of them – and many others – were already plotting similar escapades for the new King's coronation next year.

“The key is to come early and get somewhere close to the toilets and near a cafe where you can get a hot drink,” said McQuaid with the air of a seasoned veteran and master tactician. “But you also want to be about halfway along [The Mall] so you can see [the procession] in both directions for as long as possible.”

She and Savage had both arrived on Saturday morning. That meant more than 48 hours effectively living on a London street. Forgive the question, but what did they do hygiene-wise?



Heather Savage had brought her own bed for the night (Colin Drury)

“You only need a pack of wet wipes to have a good wash,” declared McQuaid, a nurse from Watford. “If you have those and a toothbrush, you can always feel fresh.”

There was, many of the campers said, no chance of boredom during the wait. Most were too busy making friends (“as the Queen would have wanted”, noted one person) and – frankly – too busy giving media interviews. “Lots of overseas TV,” said Savage, a hospital worker who had travelled from Epsom. “It just shows how well-loved she was.”

There was also, says Nikki Sammon, lots to keep them entertained. “The whole build-up is fascinating,” the 42-year-old practice manager declared. “The scale of what is taking place is amazing. There has been so much to see.” Really? Like what? “All the diplomat cars, the police, even the street cleaners,” she replied. “It’s wall-to-wall viewing, really.”



Claire Evans, pictured with Nikki Sammon, wanted to show the royals respect (Colin Drury)

The Smith family, who had come down from Buxton, said they had seen the King himself being driven past yesterday morning. Or at least, mum Amy and the three kids – Leo, 14, Kay, 12, and Monty, 9 – had seen him. Dad Dominic had been off trying to find some food for everyone. “Unbelievable timing,” he noted ruefully. At least he’d seen a few street cleaners.

The family said they had hummed and hawed about coming down since last Saturday. “I didn’t want to do it to start with, because we’re basically sleeping in a street in the middle of London,” said 12-year-old Kay with some profoundness. But now they were here, they were delighted with their decision.

“It feels like an adventure,” said Leo. “And it’s history. Seeing Charles and him waving at us – that will be something I remember forever. I’ll be able to tell [my children] about it.” To fill the long hours ahead, he’d brought his maths homework. Monty had brought Uno cards to play.



The Smith family: Leo, Amy, Kay, Monty and Dominic (Colin Drury)

“It’s a long time to be here,” admitted Dominic, a cycle route manager. “It won’t be a comfy night. But sometimes when you don’t live in London, you can feel disconnected from a lot of this stuff. So, we felt it was quite important that [the children] should come and see it and just be part of it.”

As dusk drew in, and candles were lit – and perhaps one or two more bottles were opened – it was, indeed, difficult not to feel “part” of something.

In her union jack woolly hat, Claire Evans – a retired teacher from Cambridge – considered all this. It was her second royal wait of the week after attending the lying-in-state on Thursday night and Friday morning. “I’m not a fanatic or anything,” she decided. “I just respect them [the royal family] so much, and I think it’s important to show that.”

The queue to visit the coffin of Queen Elizabeth, resting on the catafalque in Westminster Hall, was closed at 2245 yesterday. Mourners had been given until 0630 today, but were warned it could close earlier to ensure as many visitors as possible could enter the ancient hall before the lying in state period came to an end.

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King tells the nation he is deeply touched by support



Charles talks to people waiting in line to see the Queen's coffin (AFP/Getty)

ALICE BARNES-BROWN

The King issued a message of thanks to the nation on the eve of the Queen's state funeral, taking place today.

In the written statement issued by Buckingham Palace, King Charles III said, "As we all prepare to say our last farewell, I wanted simply to take this opportunity to say thank you to all those countless people who have been such a support and

comfort to my family and myself in this time of grief.” He said he and the Queen Consort were “deeply touched” by the many messages of condolence they had received from around the world over the last 10 days, and by those who turned out to pay their respects throughout the UK. “In London, Edinburgh, Hillsborough and Cardiff we were moved beyond measure by everyone who took the trouble to come and pay their respects to the lifelong service of my dear mother, the late Queen.”



The Queen's coffin inside Westminster Hall (AP)

Charles will lead the nation in mourning for its longest-reigning monarch as her final farewell takes place at Westminster Abbey. The coffin will be moved from Westminster Hall to Westminster Abbey at 10.44am, but it will not be part of the public procession. The funeral service will begin at 11am, and 2,000 people including foreign royalty, world leaders, presidents and prime ministers are expected to attend. It will be led by the Dean of Westminster, David Hoyle, but the Archbishop of Canterbury Justin Welby is also due to give a service. To close the service, there will be a two-minute silence at 11.55pm, observed both at the funeral and around the country.

Her Majesty's coffin will then travel in procession to Wellington Arch, as Big Ben and other bells chime in mourning. From here, the state hearse will transport the coffin to Windsor Castle. There will then be a committal service in St George's Chapel at 4pm. The Queen will be laid to rest next to her husband, Prince Phillip, the Duke of Edinburgh.

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Biden's tribute to Queen: 'The world's better for her'



President Joe Biden and the first lady Jill Biden, right, view the coffin of Queen Elizabeth II in Westminster Hall yesterday (AP)

ERIC GARCIA

President Joe Biden and the first lady Jill Biden paid tribute at Queen Elizabeth II's coffin at Westminster Hall yesterday.

The Bidens arrived in London late on Saturday to pay their respects to the Queen as part of a series of events. Shortly

afterwards, they signed the condolence book for the late monarch, before attending a reception at Buckingham Palace.

“She was the same in person as her image. Decent, honourable and all about service,” the US president said. “Our hearts go out to the royal family, King Charles and all of the family. It's a loss that leaves a giant hole and sometimes you think you'll never overcome it.”

He said he had told King Charles that his mother will be with him “every step of the way, every moment”.

“And that’s a reassuring notion. So to all the people of England, all the people of the United Kingdom, our hearts go out to you. You were fortunate to have had her for 70 years. We all were. The world’s better for her.”

Asked why he had previously compared the Queen to his own mother, Mr Biden said: “Just because of the way she touched when she leant over. She had that look like ‘are you OK, anything I can do for you, anything you need?’ But also, ‘make sure you do what you’re supposed to do’”

Today, the president and Dr Biden will attend the state funeral before departing for the White House.

Mr Biden, who served as a United States senator for 36 years, first met the Queen in 1982 as part of a Senate delegation. “And we were honoured that she extended her hospitality to us in June 2021 during our first overseas trip as president and first lady, where she charmed us with her wit, moved us with her kindness, and generously shared with us her wisdom,” he said in his statement upon her death.

“Queen Elizabeth II was a stateswoman of unmatched dignity and constancy who deepened the bedrock alliance between the United Kingdom and the United States. She helped make our relationship special.”

At a memorial for the anniversary of the 9/11 terrorist attacks, Mr Biden quoted her remarks shortly after the attacks where she said “grief is the price way pay for love.”

Mr Biden had touched down in London at 10 pm on Saturday evening. He was also scheduled to have his first meeting with the prime minister, Liz Truss, but the plans were cancelled. A full bilateral meeting is scheduled for Wednesday when the two are set to meet at the United Nations general assembly.

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Ukraine's first lady meets Kate at Buckingham Palace



The Princess of Wales and Olena Zelenska sit down in one of the palace's many rooms (PA)

EMILY ATKINSON

The Princess of Wales has welcomed the First Lady of Ukraine to Buckingham Palace ahead of the state funeral of Queen Elizabeth II today.

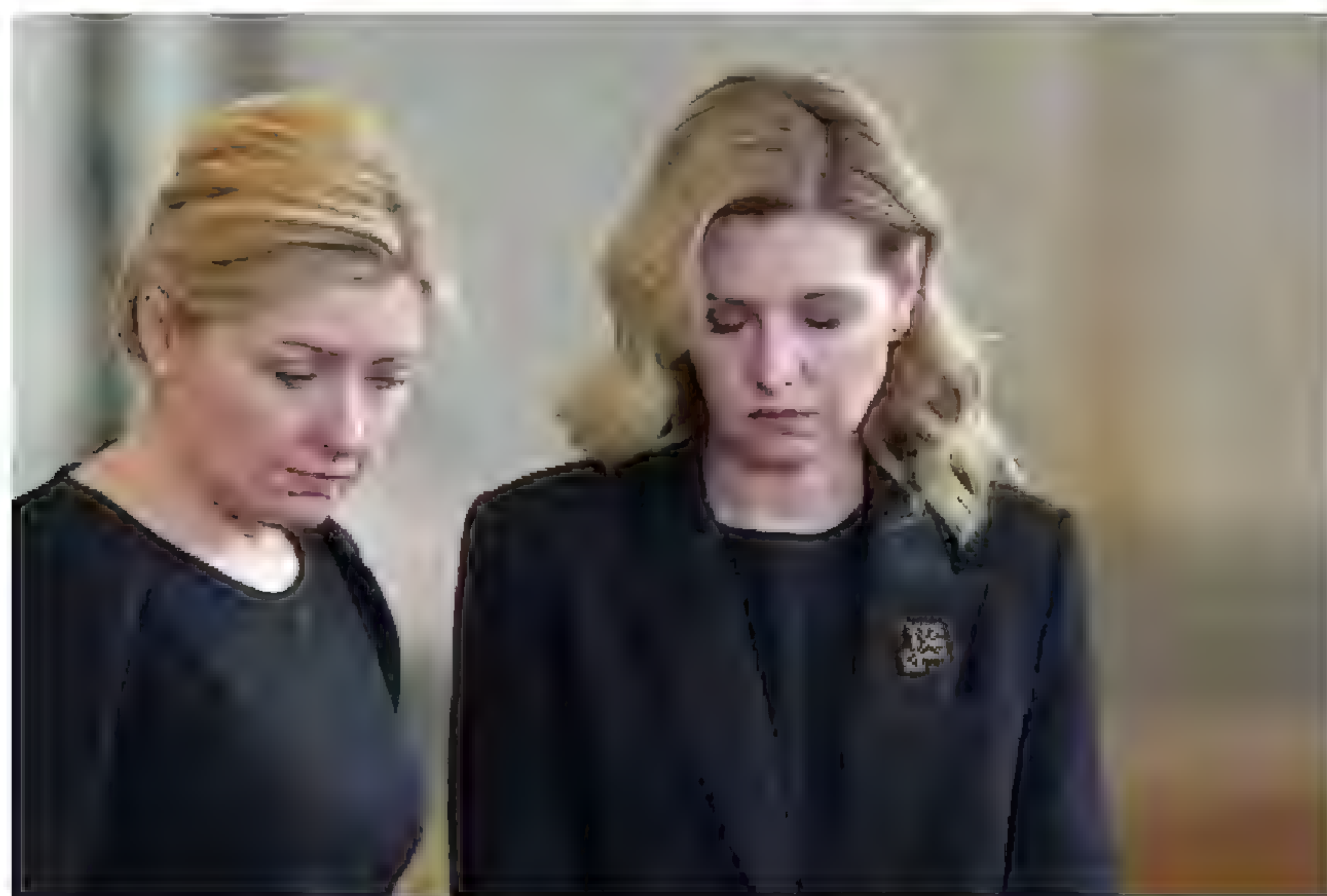
Kate held an audience with Olena Zelenska at the royal residence yesterday afternoon, where they were pictured speaking.

Ms Zelenska earlier visited Westminster Hall to see the Queen lying in state.

No 10 had previously declined to confirm reports that the Ukrainian president's wife would travel to the UK for the historic ceremony.

Ms Zelenska made the journey to the UK after her husband, Volodymyr Zelensky, set time aside from leading his country against Russia's war to sign a book of condolence for the late British monarch, who died last Thursday.

Responding to the visit of the top Ukrainian official, the UK's ambassador to the war-torn eastern European nation said she was "deeply honoured" by the president's gesture.



Zelenska, right, pays her respects to the Queen (AFP/Getty)

"Grateful to the president for taking the time to do this given all else that is happening in [Ukraine] at this time," Melinda Simmons said.

The meeting of Kate and Ms Zelenska comes after Liz Truss's earlier audience with the King in the Palace's 1844 Room.

The prime minister has also continued informal talks with world leaders as hundreds of dignitaries descended on London for the funeral.

It comes after president Joe Biden and First Lady Jill Biden visited Queen Elizabeth II's coffin as part of his trip to pay their respects to the late monarch.

Mr Biden arrived in London earlier this week to pay tribute to the Queen as part of a series of events.

Shortly afterward, Mr Biden also signed the condolence book for the Queen. They were then attending a reception at Buckingham Palace.

The Queen has been lying in state in London since Thursday evening, with huge queues of mourners lining up along the River Thames waiting upwards of 14 hours to visit Her Majesty's coffin.



US president Joe Biden, accompanied by first lady Jill Biden, signs a book of condolence (Reuters)

Mourners were given until 6.30am earlier today to reach Westminster Hall in anticipation of tomorrow's ceremony that will see the monarch transported to Westminster Abbey and finally to Windsor Castle.

Heads of state and overseas government representatives, including foreign royal families, governors-general and realm prime ministers will coincide at the Westminster Abbey ceremony today.

Other representatives of the realms and the Commonwealth, the Orders of Chivalry including recipients of the Victoria Cross and George Cross, government, parliament, devolved parliaments and assemblies, the Church, and Her Majesty's patronages will form the congregation, along with further

representatives from law, emergency services, public servants and professions, and public representatives, totalling 2,000 people.

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George and Charlotte will attend the Queen's funeral



William's elder two children will walk through Westminster Abbey with the royal family (Getty)

EMILY ATKINSON

Prince George and Princess Charlotte will attend the State Funeral of their grandmother, Queen Elizabeth II. The order of service for today's elaborate ceremony shows that George, nine, and his seven-year-old sister, Charlotte, will gather alongside

2,000 others in Westminster Abbey. However Prince Louis, 4, the youngest child of Prince William and Princess Kate, will not attend.

The brother and sister are due to walk through the gothic church with the royal family, in procession behind the Her Majesty's coffin, as millions are expected to watch the televised service across the globe.

King Charles III and the Queen Consort will process directly behind the coffin, flanked by the Princess Royal and Vice Admiral Sir Tim Laurence, followed up by the Duke of York, the Earl and Countess of Wessex, and then the Prince and Princess of Wales.

George and Charlotte, to whom the Queen was affectionally known as "Gan Gan", will walk behind their parents, trailed by their uncle and aunt, the Duke and Duchess of Sussex, and other members of the royal family. The young prince, who is second in line to the throne, and his sister, who follows her brother in third, are both expected to attend the committal service in St George's Chapel, Windsor Castle after the ceremony in central London.

Towards the end of the service at approximately 1155, the Last Post will sound followed by a two minutes' silence and the National Anthem to finish around 12 noon. Ahead of the historic service, the tenor bell toll every minute for 96 minutes, reflecting the years of the Queen's life.

In The Bidding, the Dean of Westminster, the Very Reverend Dr David Hoyle, will say: "Here, where Queen Elizabeth was married and crowned, we gather from across the nation, from the Commonwealth, and from the nations of the world, to mourn our loss, to remember her long life of selfless service."

He will then pay tribute to the late monarch's "unswerving commitment to a high calling over so many years" as Queen and Head of the Commonwealth. "With affection we recall her love for her family and her commitment to the causes she held dear," the Dean will say.

Among the hymns chosen for the occasion, “The Lord’s My Shepherd, I’ll Not Want”, was sung at the Queen’s wedding, when she married the Duke of Edinburgh, Prince Philip, in the same abbey, as a 21-year-old bride in 1947.

The seminal hymn was also sung at the funeral of Queen Elizabeth’s father, George VI in St George’s Chapel, Windsor Castle, in 1952, but with slightly different wording. “The Day Thou Gavest”, “Lord, Is Ended, and “Love Divine, All Loves Excelling” are also to be sung by the 2,000-strong congregation.

The latter has often featured at royal weddings including that of the Prince and Princess of Wales, the wedding blessing of Charles and Camilla’s, and Princess Eugenie’s.

Prayers will be given by the Reverend Dr Iain Greenshields, Moderator of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, for “Queen Elizabeth’s long life and reign, recalling with gratitude her gifts of wisdom, diligence, and service”.

The Bishop of London Dame Sarah Mullally will say a prayer for “our most gracious Sovereign Lord King Charles, Camilla the Queen Consort, William Prince of Wales, and all the royal family”. Reverend Canon Helen Cameron, Moderator of the Free Churches Group, will praise the Queen’s “unstinting devotion to duty, her compassion for her subjects, and her counsel to her ministers”.

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Now is the time to address Britain's colonial legacy



The Queen attends a welcome ceremony in Islamabad in 1997 (AFP/Getty)

BEL TREW

The death of Queen Elizabeth II, Britain's longest-serving monarch, has been marked by a global outpouring of grief with civilians and leaders across the world praising the monarch for her 70 years of dedicated service to the United Kingdom and her position internationally as a fixture of stability. Emotions have

been particularly high as it came on the heels of her platinum jubilee celebrations.

But accompanying the wave of support have been calls for the acknowledgement of the deadly legacy of the British empire and discussions on the extent to which recent British regents, including Queen Elizabeth, were directly implicated in it. There have also been calls from some corners of the Commonwealth for a fresh debate over the future of the monarchy in their lives, following the proclamation of a new king.

In the UK, meanwhile, rights groups, members of parliament and Britain's former counterterror chief, have expressed alarm about the erosion of free speech following a series of arrests of anti-monarchy protesters. Criticism of the Queen has been met with vicious backlash online with some commentators saying they have faced racism and threats to their safety.

Since the Queen's passing over a week ago, social media has been alight with fraught debates over how to mourn the passing of a monarch, who was a constant for many and worked right up until the last days of her life, while at the same time addressing the wrongdoings of the institution she was part of, and the role she might have played.

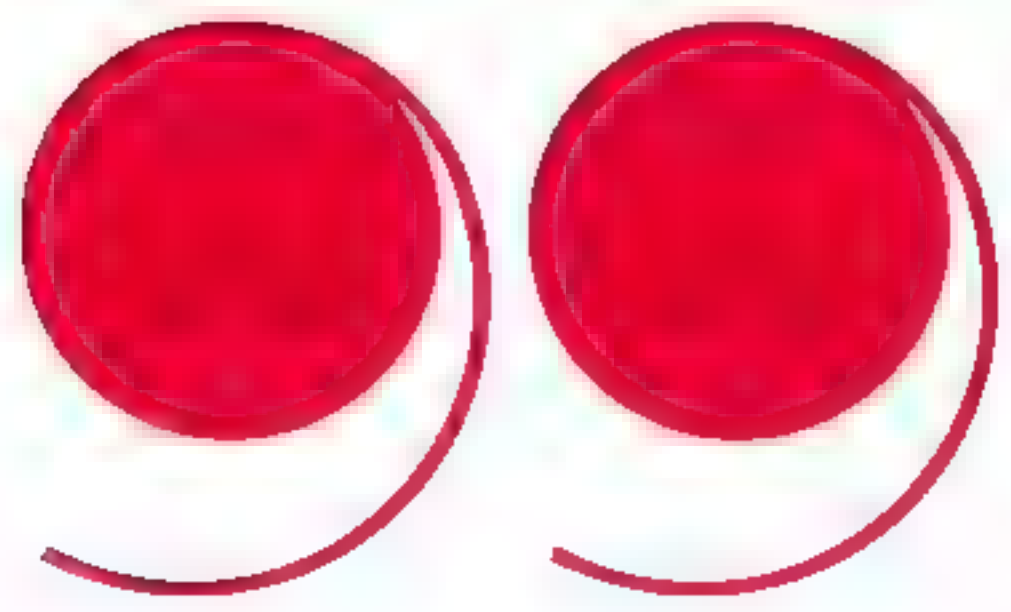
Maya Jasanoff, a professor of history at Harvard and author of three books about the British empire, told *The Independent* she faced fierce backlash online for an essay in *The New York Times* entitled, "Mourn the Queen, not the empire."

In it, she argued that while the Queen should be rightly remembered for her life's work "we should not romanticise her era".

"The Queen helped obscure a bloody history of decolonisation, whose proportions and legacies have yet to be adequately acknowledged," the piece argued.



We can mourn the death of a public figure but it is also time to acknowledge and mourn the many victims of colonial violence and those who have inherited suffering



She told *The Independent* the global response to the Queen's death has been dominated exclusively by "only taking stock of the life and not taking stock of the times in their fullness". She said there had been an effort to detach the figure from the broader history – despite the fact that the Queen held a unique position of being "both individual and institution".

"The subject of empire, imperial amnesia and imperial nostalgia have been obviously gaining momentum in Britain in recent years in certain quarters of the population but it has still not been taken up seriously by parts of the establishment. And to some people now is not the time to talk about this," she said.

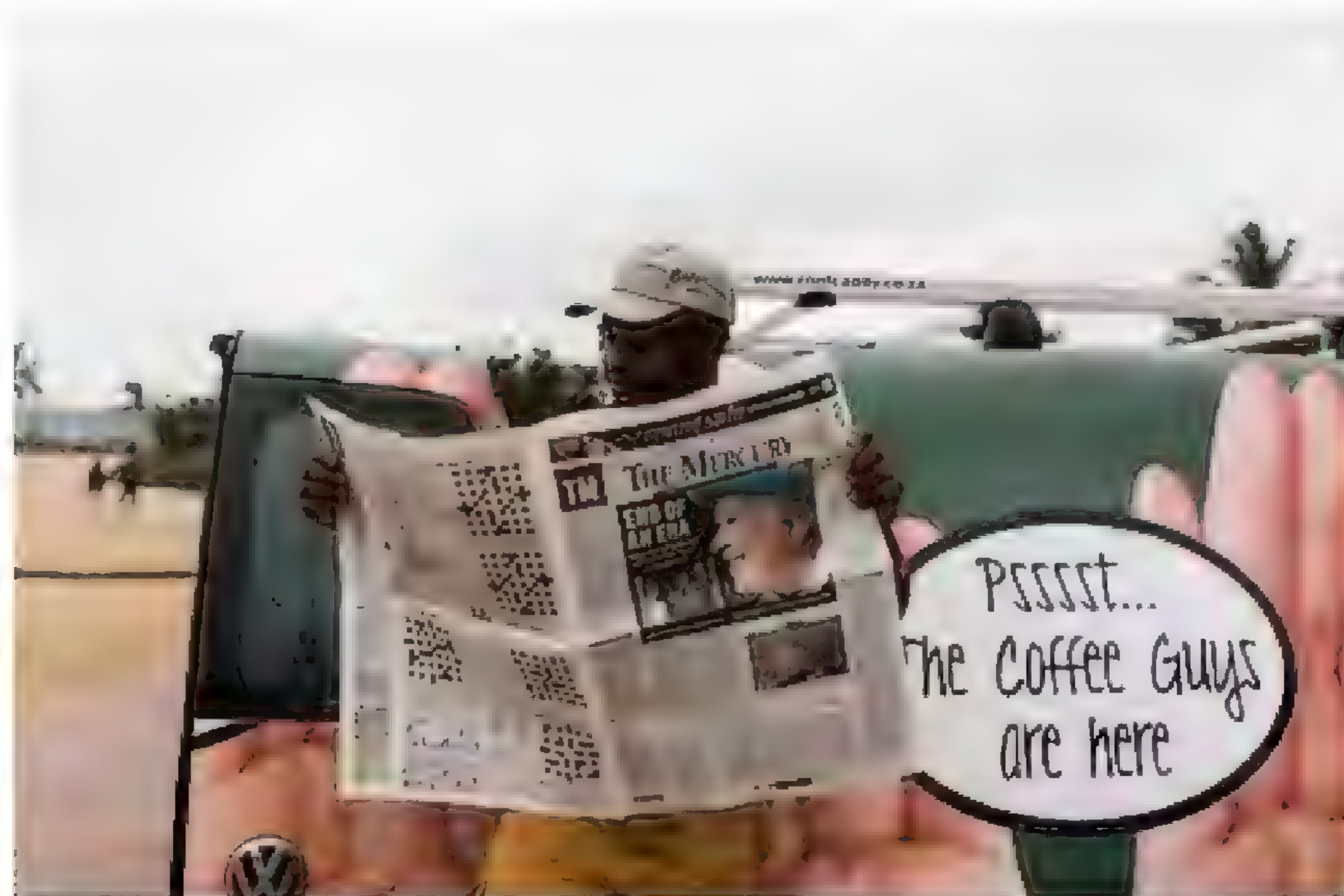
"But it is well past the time to talk and the fact that it has been put off for so long is why you are getting it now – now there is a little door opening."

"We cannot avoid the fact that the monarchy was ever more tied up with the empire in the 19th and 20th centuries."

Melissa Murray, a law professor at New York University whose family is from Jamaica and whose Twitter thread on the subject went viral, said that while the Queen dedicated her life to service "it doesn't exempt the institution of which she is part of from criticism".

“It is understandable that people feel respect, reverence and affection, given the steadfastness with which she approached her position and the fact that she was not necessarily born to do that job,” she said.

“But that doesn’t diminish misgivings that people in the Commonwealth have been living with the vestiges of the empire and being subjected to colonialism on her watch. They have also been subjected to de-colonisation which was an incredibly destabilising and sometimes violent process.



A man catches up on the latest news in Durban (AFP/Getty)

“It is OK to talk about it and you can do it without diminishing any of the things she did accomplish.

“It does a disservice to her and any female leader to flatten her into an unalloyed good.”

Priyamvada Gopal, a professor of postcolonial studies at the University of Cambridge, said that what was startling about the response to the Queen’s death “was the scale on which this mourning is being enforced in Britain and the insistence on the global significance of this passing”.

“Particularly for the Commonwealth, which is another confection that glosses over the violence of British imperialism,” she continued.

“We can mourn the death of a public figure proportionately but it is also time to acknowledge and mourn the many victims of

colonial violence and those who have inherited suffering,” she added.

She said “a great deal” of colonial violence has been inflicted in the name of the Crown but there has been largely denial and obfuscation around it.

“The Queen has very rarely noted the existence of ‘painful’ events such as the Jallianwala Bagh Massacre [by British soldiers in 1919 in which they gunned down hundreds of peaceful protesters] but there has been no effort to lead a national reckoning with the truth of the empire or to open up the precise nature of her inherited wealth to scrutiny.”

There have also been mounting concerns about crackdowns on freedoms follow a number of arrests of anti-monarchy demonstrators with the police being criticised for overstepping the mark.

Last Sunday in Edinburgh, a 22-year-old woman was arrested during the accession proclamation for the King outside the city’s St Giles’ Cathedral. The day after, another protester, a 22-year-old man, was arrested on the Royal Mile as footage appeared to show him heckling the royal procession.



The Queen conducts an inspection of the King’s African Rifles regiment in 1957 (EPA)

In central London last Monday, meanwhile, a viral video from Parliament Square showed barrister Paul Powlesland holding up

a blank piece of paper and being asked for his details by an officer.

Mr Powlesland said the officer told him he risked being arrested if he wrote “not my King” on the paper.

Another man was arrested on suspicion of a public order offence after shouting “who elected him?” when he came across a public formal reading of the proclamation of the accession for the King in Carfax, Oxford. He was later de-arrested.

The arrests or threats of arrests have sparked further protests with activists gathering outside St Giles’ Cathedral last Tuesday carrying “blank canvases” in solidarity with those who had been detained during royal ceremonies.

The crackdown has also alarmed politicians, rights groups and ex-officials.

Conservative MP David Davis wrote to Scotland’s chief constable Sir Iain Livingstone this week urging the police to “continue to respect the right to free speech”.

The UK’s former counter-terror chief Nick Aldworth told the Press Association that “there was an inappropriate overprotectiveness towards the dignity of the event” by police.

“They didn’t act appropriately, it’s overzealous,” he said of the arrests.

Index on Censorship, a British group that campaigns for freedom of expression, said there were “worrying indications” that anti-monarchy protests were being silenced.

Ruth Smeeth, Index on Censorship’s CEO, said: “It is deeply concerning to see the arrests being made. The fundamental right to freedom of expression, including the right to protest, is something to be protected regardless of circumstance.”

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Andrew pays tribute to his mother for her ‘compassion’



The prince, now eighth in line to the throne, was said to be the Queen's favourite son (AP)

LIAM JAMES

Prince Andrew has issued a tribute to his mother, the late Queen Elizabeth II, ahead of her funeral, which is set to take place today. The Duke of York said in a statement: “Dear Mummy,

Mother, Your Majesty, three in one. Your Majesty, it has been an honour and privilege to serve you.

“Mother – of the nation, your devotion and personal service to our nation is unique and singular; your people show their love and respect in so many different ways, and I know you are looking on, honouring their respect.

“Mummy, your love for a son, your compassion, your care, your confidence I will treasure forever. I have found your knowledge and wisdom infinite, with no boundary or containment. I will miss your insights, advice and humour.



The Queen and Prince Andrew at Ascot in 2017 (Getty)

“As our book of experiences closes, another opens, and I will forever hold you close to my heart with my deepest love and gratitude, and I will tread gladly into the next with you as my guide. God save the King.”

Andrew accompanied his words with a black-and-white photo taken by society photographer Cecil Beaton of his mother holding him as a baby in March 1960.

He joined his elder brother, King Charles, and their siblings in a vigil at Westminster Hall on Friday. The King, Andrew, Princess Anne and Prince Edward stood in silence around the Queen’s coffin as members of the public filed through the hall.

The Queen’s children had four days earlier taken part in a vigil at St Giles’ Cathedral in Edinburgh.



The Queen holding an infant Prince Andrew at Balmoral in November 1960 (PA)

Andrew was said to be the Queen's favourite son, despite the embarrassment his actions caused to the family. He stepped back from public life in 2019 over his friendship with paedophile billionaire Jeffrey Epstein, and went on to pay millions to settle a civil sexual assault case brought by a woman he claimed never to have met.

Virginia Giuffre sued the prince for allegedly sexually assaulting her when she was 17, which is under the age of consent in Florida, after she was trafficked by Epstein. Andrew denied the claims. In January, ahead of the legal settlement, the Queen stripped the prince of his honorary military roles, including Colonel of the Grenadier Guards, and he gave up his right to style himself HRH.

In March, Andrew settled out of court with Ms Giuffre for an estimated £10m.

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Non-working royals could lose their stand-in status



Prince Andrew and Prince Harry would no longer be able to deputise for the King under the new rules (Getty/PA)

CHIARA GIORDANO

King Charles is considering rewriting an 85-year-old law which would mean Prince Andrew and Prince Harry could lose their “stand-in status” as counsellors of state, according to reports.

Under current rules, the two princes and Princess Beatrice could be called on as counsellors of state to temporarily deputise for King Charles if he is unable to carry out official duties due to illness or absence abroad. This is because by law, under the Regency Act 1937, counsellors of state include the sovereign's spouse and the next four people in the line of succession who are over the age of 21.

But the King is reportedly considering rewriting the law to prevent non-working royals from being counsellors of state, according to *The Telegraph*. The move would see Andrew, Harry and Beatrice become ineligible for the role.

The change in the line of succession since Queen Elizabeth II's death means Camilla, the new Queen Consort, Prince William, Prince Harry, Prince Andrew and the newly added Princess Beatrice are the current counsellors of state.



The King is considering a major royal family shake-up (Getty)

Andrew, the Duke of York, is no longer a working royal, having stepped back from public duties in November 2019 after backlash to his friendship with convicted paedophile Jeffrey Epstein. And since the death of his mother last week, there has been fresh scrutiny of his status as counsellor of state.

The Queen's Covid scare in February reignited the debate at a time when her husband Prince Philip held the role along with Charles, William, Harry and Andrew. At the time, Charles had

also contracted Covid, William was abroad in Dubai, Andrew had stepped back permanently from royal life while he fought a civil sexual assault case, and Harry was living in the US after quitting as a senior working royal.

Counsellors of state are authorised to carry out most of the official duties of the sovereign, for example, attending privy council meetings, signing routine documents and receiving the credentials of new ambassadors to the United Kingdom. Charles and William stood in for the Queen in May to open a new session of parliament when the former monarch was unable to because of mobility issues.

However, there are a number of core constitutional functions that may not be delegated, including Commonwealth matters, the dissolving of parliament, except on His Majesty's express instruction, the creation of peers and appointing a prime minister.

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‘Queue-pid’ strikes couple in line to see the Queen



Jack (left) and Zoe’s story has been likened to a romcom script (Channel 4 News/Twitter)

KATE NG

Two strangers who met and spent at least 12 hours in the queue to pay their respects to the Queen may have sparked the romance movie of the decade.

The mourners, named Jack and Zoe, were interviewed by *Channel 4 News* on Saturday as they waited in line to enter Westminster Hall and see Queen Elizabeth II lying in state.

The pair appeared to have hit it off during their long wait in the public queue, which they said they had been in since 10.30pm on Friday night.

In fact, they hit it off so well that they were planning to watch the Queen's funeral together today.

Speaking to news anchor Minnie Stephenson, Jack said: "We've been with each other throughout the whole thing. We've actually got loads of things in common."

Asked if they would stay in touch, Zoe chimed in: "Yeah, 100 per cent."

"We're going to the funeral on Monday together," Jack added.

Zoe said that her wait in the queue went by "so quickly" thanks to "sharing stories, having laughs and ... good chat" with Jack.

Twitter users were quick to compare the pair's meeting to a romance movie, with some joking that director Richard Curtis, who is famous for his romcom hits including *Love Actually* and *Four Weddings and a Funeral*, was already on the case.

"I think we all know that Richard Curtis has been writing #TheQueue for the last couple of days... Might now be 'based on a true story'," one person said.

Another predicted: "Richard Curtis romcom called The Queue, back end of 2023, cameo by David Beckham. Just warning you."

Jack and Zoe's meeting also sparked all manner of puns, such as "meet-queue-t" and "queue-pid".

Others found the interaction sweet and refreshing during what has been a sad time for many, with one person writing: "I love meeting people like this. Especially after two years of being locked up in isolation, it's so important that we no longer be alone. What a beautiful thing to connect over."

Another added: “I was hoping a couple might fall in love after meeting in the queue. I wish this couple all the best if that happens. I’m such an old romantic!”

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Celtic fans hijack minute's applause with 'hate' chant



Celtic fans' banner before the game at St Mirren (PA Wire)

SPORTS STAFF

Celtic supporters chanted throughout a minute's applause in memory of the Queen ahead of their match against St Mirren in Paisley yesterday.

Some fans chanted: "If you hate the royal family clap your hands" while a banner containing the same phrase was displayed in the away end.

The fixture was televised on Sky Sports and commentator Ian Crocker apologised to anyone who might have been offended by the chants. He said: “Apologies if you were offended by anything you might have heard. Most people showed respect some did not.”

Celtic manager Ange Postecoglou had previously expressed the club’s wish that fans be “respectful” during any tributes.

The Glasgow club became the subject of Uefa disciplinary proceedings after supporters displayed a “Fuck the Crown” banner during Wednesday’s Champions League draw against Shakhtar Donetsk in Poland.

Celtic lost the match to St Mirren 2-0, their first defeat in the Premiership in almost a year, and Postecoglou opted not to comment on the chants.

“I addressed all that in two press conferences, I’m not going to do it in three,” he said. “I get why the interest is there, but I’m a manager at a football club, and I sit at press conferences wanting to talk about football. We addressed that matter, we did everything we needed to do, it’s time we moved on.”

There were disruptions to tributes at some of Saturday’s Premiership fixtures. A minute’s silence at Ibrox was disrupted by Dundee United supporters. Boos and derogatory chants could be heard coming from the corner of the stadium housing several hundred visiting supporters before Rangers played “God Save the King”.

In a brief statement, Dundee United later stated that they had “reached out to advise our supporters of the pre-match arrangements with the expectation that the minute silence would be observed”.

There were similar reactions ahead of Hibernian’s game with Aberdeen at Easter Road, where boos and chants were audible during a minute’s applause.

The Scottish Football Association had postponed all matches the previous weekend following the Queen’s death and gave clubs

the option of choosing whether and how to pay respects when games resumed.

In a joint statement with the Scottish Professional Football League on Monday, the SFA said: “This week, as a mark of respect and in keeping with the period of national mourning, home clubs may wish to hold a period of silence and/or play the national anthem just ahead of kick-off, and players may wish to wear black armbands.”

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Regions cherry-picked by PM could be given tax cut



Businesses in the handpicked regions will be able to ignore certain regulations (Getty)

JON STONE

POLICY CORRESPONDENT

Liz Truss is planning to levy lower tax rates and strip out regulations in certain parts of the country picked by the government.

The prime minister is reportedly planning to badge the areas “investment zones” – and will claim that the approach could boost economic growth. Businesses based in the handpicked regions will be able to ignore some environmental regulations and pay lower rates of tax. And workers living there could pay personal income taxes and national insurance at reduced rates, the *Sun on Sunday* newspaper reports.

Details of the plans are still said to be being worked out, but an announcement could come as early as chancellor Kwasi Kwarteng’s emergency budget on Friday. The plans to apply the tax cuts to particular areas of the country only may raise eyebrows because the government has previously come under fire for playing political favourites.

A previous policy, the Towns Fund, selected areas to benefit from a £1bn pot of investment – but this was mostly funnelled into Tory areas. An inquiry by parliament’s spending watchdog, the public accounts committee, concluded last year that the selection process to benefit from the fund was “not impartial” and decisions were “politically motivated”. Thirty-nine of the 45 places to receive the first round of funding were represented by Tory MPs. It is not clear which areas will benefit from the “investment zone” tax cuts or how they will be picked.

Mr Kwarteng, who was appointed by Ms Truss earlier this month, is set to use Friday’s emergency budget to reverse Rishi Sunak’s rises in corporation tax and national insurance contributions. Other policies are expected to include lifting the cap on bankers’ bonuses, which limits payouts to twice a banker’s annual salary. The policy was intended to reduce the risk-taking associated with bonus incentives, and so reduce the risk of another financial crisis.

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Truss's chief of staff quizzed by FBI about election bribe



Mark Fullbrook has strongly denied any wrongdoing and claims only to be a witness (PA)

JON STONE

Liz Truss's chief of staff has been interviewed by the FBI as part of an investigation into an alleged conspiracy to bribe an American politician and influence an election. Mark Fullbrook, the prime minister's closest adviser, was questioned as a witness in a US Department of Justice (DoJ) and FBI investigation into the matter.

In April, the FBI approached the UK's National Crime Agency and the Metropolitan Police to help secure Mr Fullbrook's attendance for a formal interview, *The Sunday Times* first reported. The US investigators are looking into allegations that a London-based businessman tried to bribe the governor of Puerto Rico, a United States territory.

Julio Martin Herrera Velutini, a UK Conservative Party donor and the owner of the Puerto Rican bank Bancredito, is accused of bribing Puerto Rica's governor at the time, Wanda Vazquez Garced. Federal prosecutors claim Mr Herrera wanted Ms Vazquez, a Trump-supporting Republican, to sack her financial regulator, who was investigating his bank, and replace them with someone of his choosing.

UK Electoral Commission records show that a company founded by Mr Herrera also donated £650,604 to the Conservative Party between December 2019 and June 2022.

Mr Fullbrook, who masterminded Ms Truss's leadership campaign, was interviewed by US authorities because of his work for, and role at, CT Group, an Australian-British lobbying firm founded by Lynton Crosby. Court records in the United States allege that the alleged bribe was paid through CT Group. Mr Fullbrook was employed as the company's chief global project officer, and prosecutors claim that he flew to Puerto Rico to meet with Vazquez Garced.

Prosecutors are reported to be reading through hundreds of sensitive emails from Mr Fullbrook relating to his work in the Puerto Rican capital, San Juan. He strongly denies any wrongdoing.

A representative of Mr Fullbrook said: "Our client was not involved in the illegal conduct being alleged and is not being investigated in relation to it. He is merely a witness to it, and has and is fully cooperating with the relevant US law enforcement authorities. Any allegation that he is unfit to hold the position of chief of staff is wholly untrue."

The representative stressed that the prime minister's adviser "had absolutely no knowledge of any alleged bribery or

corruption when CT Group contracted to provide services to Julio Herrera Velutini”. They also said that Mr Fullbrook did not carry out any work for Ms Vazquez Garced, the politician allegedly being bribed.

Last month, the DoJ charged Ms Vazquez and Mr Herrera with crimes that could see each face up to 20 years in prison. Both deny any wrongdoing.

Commenting on the investigation, assistant attorney general Kenneth A Polite Jr said: “The alleged bribery scheme rose to the highest levels of the Puerto Rican government, threatening public trust in our electoral processes and institutions of governance. The Department of Justice is committed to holding accountable those who wrongly believe there is one rule of law for the powerful and another for the powerless. No one is above the rule of law.”

US attorney W Stephen Muldrow said: “The criminal actions of the defendants in this case strike a blow to the heart of our democracy and further erode the confidence of our citizens in their institutions of governance. Our resolve to bring to justice those entrusted by the public to serve with integrity and who violate that trust remains steadfast.

“Equally steadfast is our resolve to prosecute those who seek to use their wealth and power to enrich themselves at the expense of honest government. I commend the dedication and hard work of the law enforcement personnel and prosecutors in this case, as well as those individuals willing to come forward and cooperate.”

Mr Fullbrook is married to former Tory MP Lorraine Fullbrook, who was ennobled and given a life seat in the House of Lords by Boris Johnson in 2019.

Downing Street has not yet commented on the allegations.

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Give him an inch: ‘biased’ Rees-Mogg survey pounded



Jacob Rees-Mogg’s imperial units consultation gives the public no option to say ‘no’ (PA)

JON STONE

A “biased” consultation into reintroducing imperial measurements launched by the government has been criticised for giving the public no option to reject the change.

Ministers launched an official survey over the summer to gauge the public appetite for moving back to the archaic measurement system – which was phased out over half a century ago.

But a survey in the consultation asked people only: “If you had a choice, would you want to purchase items: i) in imperial units ii) in imperial units alongside a metric equivalent”.

No option was provided in the survey question to reject the reintroduction of imperial measures.

The exercise is being run by the Department for Business, Energy and Industrial Strategy (BEIS) which is now overseen by Tory MP Jacob Rees-Mogg. In 2019 it was reported that Mr Rees-Mogg had issued a memo to his staff requiring them to work in imperial units.

In March this year, the government was branded “ludicrous” after *The Independent* reported that ministers were to launch a study of the benefits of switching to the mothballed measuring system. But the consultation launched over the summer has been criticised by experts in survey design.

“This is missing the category that you would prefer metric only,” said Dr Pamela Campanelli, a consultant on survey methods told the BBC’s *More or Less* programme, which highlighted the problems.

“We’re going to get a biased answer because people have to choose something that doesn’t apply to them. It seems like they’re actually trying to sculpt or lead the responses towards what they want because they want people to go back to imperial.”

Imperial-only labelling fell out of business use when Britain joined the European common market in the early 1970s, but some people who remember the esoteric counting system remain attached to it.

Imperial’s alternative system of measuring weights and volume of products was used more or less exclusively in Britain – though the US maintains a parallel system with similar names but different measurements.

As opposed to the metric system of weight, in which 1,000 grams are equivalent to one kilogram, the imperial system says there are 14 pounds in a stone and 16 ounces in a pound.

For liquid, there are 20 fluid ounces in a pint and 160 fluid ounces in a gallon, instead of the metric 1,000 millilitres in a litre.

While the measurements have largely been out of official use for some 60 years, they are believed by politicians to be beloved by some older voters, and so occasionally become a political issue. In reality, Britain operates a mixed system, with businesses using metric weights and measures, while imperial miles are used on roadsigns and pints used in pubs.

Officials at the business department say the purpose of the consultation is to examine how greater choice could be given to businesses and consumers.

There is no timetable for the release of the results of the consultation.

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Police call for calm after major disorder outbreak



Special powers were given to officers in a bid to restore order after the unplanned protest (Riaz Khan)

FURVAH SHAH

Fifteen people were arrested during a policing operation in east Leicester "to deter further disorder" last night. It comes after two arrests were made when police said disturbances broke

out at an unplanned protest on Saturday night and yesterday morning.

The force said all 15 remained in police custody. Temporary chief constable Rob Nixon called for calm on Saturday night. The force said large crowds formed when groups of young men gathered for an unplanned protest.

Several incidents of violence and damage were reported and are currently being investigated. The force said a large group of men were travelling towards Green Lane Road in east Leicester, where the disorder began. Dispersal and stop and search powers were authorised to help officers in restoring calm and the situation is currently under control.

A police spokesperson said: “Several incidents of violence and damage have been reported to the police and are being investigated. We are aware of a video circulating showing a man pulling down a flag outside a religious building on Melton Road, Leicester.

“This appears to have taken place while police officers were dealing with public disorder in the area. The incident will be investigated.



Police surround protesters on Belgrave Road late on Saturday (Leicester Media)

“We are continuing to call for dialogue and calm with support from local community leaders. We will not tolerate violence or disorder in our city.”

Additional officers have been on patrol in the area in recent weeks after a number of disorderly incidents following an Asia Cup cricket match, and reports on social media say the violence was religiously motivated.

Claudia Webbe, MP for Leicester East, joined the police in calling for calm on Saturday night.

She wrote on Twitter: “This is a time for cool heads. I implore everyone to go home. We can strengthen our dialogue to repair community relations.

“Your family will be worried for your safety, please accept the advice of the police who are trying to defuse and are calling for calm.”

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Community vow Olivia's death 'will not be in vain'



Mourners at the funeral of nine-year-old Olivia Pratt-Korbel in Liverpool on Thursday 15 September (Craig Brough/Reuters)

CHIARA GIORDANO

“Let her death not be in vain” is the sense of feeling hanging over a Liverpool community four weeks after a schoolgirl was shot dead in her own home in a tragic series of events.

In his homily during Olivia Pratt-Korbel's funeral on Thursday, the archbishop of Liverpool called on those present to comfort each other with faith in the belief the nine-year-old's untimely and ill-fated death would "lead to a community without violence".

The schoolgirl was killed when a masked gunman opened fire as he chased a convicted burglar through the door of the home she shared with her mother and two older siblings in Dovecot.

Her death on 22 August followed months of growing tensions in the area and is thought to have been the latest incident in a series of tit-for-tat gang attacks. Neither man was known to Olivia's family and the gunman is still on the run four weeks later despite police making nine arrests.

Merseyside Police are said to face a "wall of silence" when investigating killings because of a "no-grass culture" allegedly rooted in Liverpool's criminal fraternity. But investigators have reportedly already been handed a name by the community, who are desperate to get justice for the young girl and her family.



The schoolgirl was shot in her Liverpool home on 22 August
(Family handout/PA)

“There is no wall of silence,” said Barbara Murray, a councillor in the ward where Olivia lived on Kingsheath Avenue. “Everybody knows who did it. I think part of the difficulty is that when people come forward, they need to be better protected.

“At some point, police are going to need some people to be witnesses and to provide evidence which is a step further, isn’t it? I don’t think anybody is scared of being a grass – I think everybody wants justice for this child.”

Ms Murray and her two fellow Yew Tree ward councillors are planning to hold a community reassurance meeting next weekend, which she hopes will be their first real chance “to get the temperature of things”.

“I would say for about 48 hours after it happened there was some anger around there,” she told *The Independent*. “I think there’s a sense of ‘Let’s not let her have died in vain’. I think this is mostly coming from mothers.”

The councillor is still confident police will catch Olivia’s killer and that the schoolgirl’s family and community will one day get justice. But she said they would never forget the fact the youngster was killed in her own home.



Olivia’s mother, Cheryl Korbel (second left), was injured as she tried to shut the door on the attacker (Reuters)

“I think it goes without saying the family will never get over this,” she said. “But I think in a way the community won’t either.”

Olivia was one of three people shot dead in the space of a week in Liverpool amid a rise in gun and knife crimes.

Council worker Ashley Dale, 28, was shot in her back garden in another part of the city in what police believe may have been a case of mistaken identity, while 22-year-old mechanic Sam Rimmer died after two people opened fire as he stood in the street with friends.

Police are said to be probing suspected links between the deaths of Olivia and Ashley, who died less than two miles apart, according to the *Sunday Mirror*.

Reverend Peter Smyth, who opened the doors of the Church of the Holy Spirit in Dovecot to the community immediately after Olivia's death, said he believed the people of Liverpool could help get her killer off the streets.



Convicted burglar Joseph Nee is understood to have been the intended target of the gunman (Cheshire Police/PA)

“The people of Liverpool tend to do the best they can for each other,” he said. “We just need to get this perpetrator off the streets and for justice to be done and really I think the people can help. There are people in the community who perhaps know something so if they can just come forward and tell the police.”

Rev Smyth said the community was growing tired of the spate of crime in the area.

“That’s very much the feeling – especially in light of poor Olivia’s shooting,” he said. “Thankfully we don’t have that many shootings in Liverpool but these three were particularly tragic because they were young innocent people going about their business.”

He said the general feeling locally was that police were doing a good job – but that residents “just want the person who did this to be brought to justice now”.

The Independent has contacted Merseyside Police for comment.

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The Highlands firm making wind energy even greener



Gavin MacMillan at work in the innovation centre outside Lochgilphead (Bill Bailey/Ashden)

SAPHORA SMITH
CLIMATE CORRESPONDENT

At an innovation centre on the banks of a highland loch, a handful of workers are at the vanguard of making wind power greener.

Not through employing new gadgets or gizmos, but by bringing old parts back to life.

During a recent visit to the Renewable Parts workshop outside the town of Lochgilphead on Scotland's west coast, workers clean, strip and reassemble parts of wind turbines under the Scottish flag.

Their aim? To refurbish and remanufacture components instead of replacing them with new ones.

“What we're trying to do is bring to the wind industry or renewables the circular economy philosophy and practices,” said James Barry, the company's chief executive, who dialled in for the interview remotely from his office in Renfrew, outside Glasgow. “We're a green energy source – ie wind – but we're not a green aftermarket.”

The company estimates that less than 5 per cent of replaceable wind turbine components around the world are currently refurbished or remanufactured, but believes there is potential for upwards of 70 per cent of those parts to be recirculated.



Renewable Parts workshop outside Lochgilphead (Bill Bailey/Ashden)

“That's a complete transformation of the supply chain from linear to circular,” said Mr Barry. “That's profound.”

This workshop in a field overlooking the loch is leading the charge, and the business hasn't yet found another company in the world that similarly specialises in remanufacturing and refurbishing multiple parts of wind turbines.

The UK is not a big producer of onshore wind turbines, but Renewable Parts believes the country has an opportunity to become a global leader in the remanufacturing of wind turbine components.

“We’re developing an industry within an industry,” Mr Barry said.

Renewable Parts signed a memorandum of understanding this year with the energy company SSE Renewables and the University of Strathclyde to collaborate on increasing the amount of parts reused by SSE Renewables’ onshore wind turbines.

The company, which employs some 40 people in Lochgilphead and Renfrew, was founded 11 years ago to repair wind turbine parts, but supplies new parts too.



Justin Okumu, an electrical engineer at the firm (Bill Bailey/Ashden)

Today remanufacturing represents 30 to 40 per cent of its revenue, with the remainder from supplying new parts. But it is the remanufacturing side that Renewable Parts expects to grow fastest.

In the past three to four years, the company says, it has seen “exponential” growth in interest in using remanufactured parts as companies attempt to decarbonise their supply chains. In 2018, the percentage of overall company revenue that came

from the remanufacturing side was less than 5 per cent; today it's close to 40.

The company mainly remanufactures parts for onshore turbines, but has been supplying refurbished parts offshore too for the past two years.

A big part of the offering is that Renewable Parts allows companies not only to remanufacture parts, but also to measure the carbon they save in doing so. This data is crucial as companies attempt to measure the decarbonisation of their supply chains to meet climate goals, Mr Barry said.

“The commitment to net zero – that changed everything,” he added. “You cannot be committed to net zero if you are not serious about decarbonising your supply chain.”



Wind turbines line the hillside in Stirling (Jeff J Mitchell/Getty)

Wind turbines are bulky bits of equipment that require lots of steel and concrete and have large carbon footprints. Although studies have found this footprint is insignificant when contrasted with the emissions saved from not burning fossil fuels, wind companies can reduce the amount of carbon they use in their supply chains by reusing parts.

By remanufacturing a yaw gearbox, for example, which is used to keep the top of the turbine facing into the wind, a company can save around 428kg of carbon dioxide-equivalent. That's the equivalent of a return flight from London to Istanbul, and there

are between four to eight yaw gearboxes on every onshore wind turbine.

Renewable Parts has calculated that it has saved around 400 tonnes of carbon dioxide-equivalent by recirculating more than 3,400 parts since 2018. That's the equivalent of more than 126 return flights from London to Perth in Australia, or the total greenhouse gases emitted in a year by 63 people in the United Kingdom.

Cop 26, the United Nations climate summit held down the road in Glasgow last year, offered a further boost. Since then, the company says, it has seen an uptick in the number of businesses enquiring about remanufactured parts – not for financial reasons but primarily because they've been recirculated.

There is interest in the environmental offering of the business from the workforce too.

Renewable Parts offers high-skilled jobs in a remote part of Scotland, where such businesses are few and far between. But it also trains people with no background in manufacturing or renewables.



An employee at Renewable Parts works on a yaw gearbox
(Saphora Smith/The Independent)

“Up here we employ mainly on attitude,” said Michael Forbes, general manager of refurbishment engineering. “The job can be trained; getting the right people is the main thing.”

Mr Forbes, who had a boat-maintenance business before joining Renewable Parts, said the workshop was set up so that in future the company should be able to employ people straight from school. Moving people to the area was a real challenge, he said, because second homes are used as holiday lets and the long-term rental market is small.

Those in the workshop said they were pleased to be able to work in the green sector locally.

Gavin MacMillan, a 28-year-old workshop lead who comes from Oban, an hour’s drive north of Lochgilphead, said the

environmental aspect of the job was among the reasons he'd wanted to work there.

He had started his work life as an apprentice maintaining heavy machinery on local quarries, but said the fact that Renewable Parts helped companies cut waste and get to net zero appealed to him.

“[It's] making the country a greener place,” he said.

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Anarchic squalor of life and death taken to new heights

‘Frozen Planet II’ episode highlights indifference of humans



Two polar bears square off over a walrus carcass in ‘Frozen Planet II’ (BBC)

HARRY COCKBURN

ENVIRONMENT CORRESPONDENT

Welcome back to the insane realm of *Frozen Planet II*, where the outrageous cruelty of nature vies with the dazzling beauty of our

world in a psychopathic danse-macabre – all perfectly choreographed in the name of television.

The second episode of the new series takes the viewer on a bipolar odyssey – no pun intended – in which the BBC’s traditional anthropomorphic approach is ratcheted up to the extreme, building up our sympathies for certain animals, only to rip them limb from bloody limb moments later.

Do you want the little polar bear cubs to live or die, you ask yourself manically as the blood-soaked head and chest of a cannibalistic alpha male bear roars into view.

If you want them to live, then perhaps they should have slaughtered “one of cutest animals in the world”, as one cameraman describes a fluffy baby harp seal. Or perhaps you’d prefer watching their mother (the bears’, that is, not the cameraman’s) go into battle with other bears in order to rip apart the remains of a walrus.

What’s worse is that you can’t turn away and console yourself with the fact that these merciless gorefests are nothing to do with you, thank you very much. At every opportunity, Sir David Attenborough is there, forlornly providing the incontrovertible evidence that you, we, all of us humans, are exacerbating the horror by overheating our planet.

Every extra tiny increment of additional global average temperature rise we cause is seemingly pitting more and more species against each other.



Polar bears explore and play in the great expanse of Svalbard’s sea ice fjords (BBC)

We witness a pod of ruthless killer whales target a group of bowhead whales – which Sir David tells us are only minding their own business on holiday at a “spa” where they are socialising and cleaning their skin.

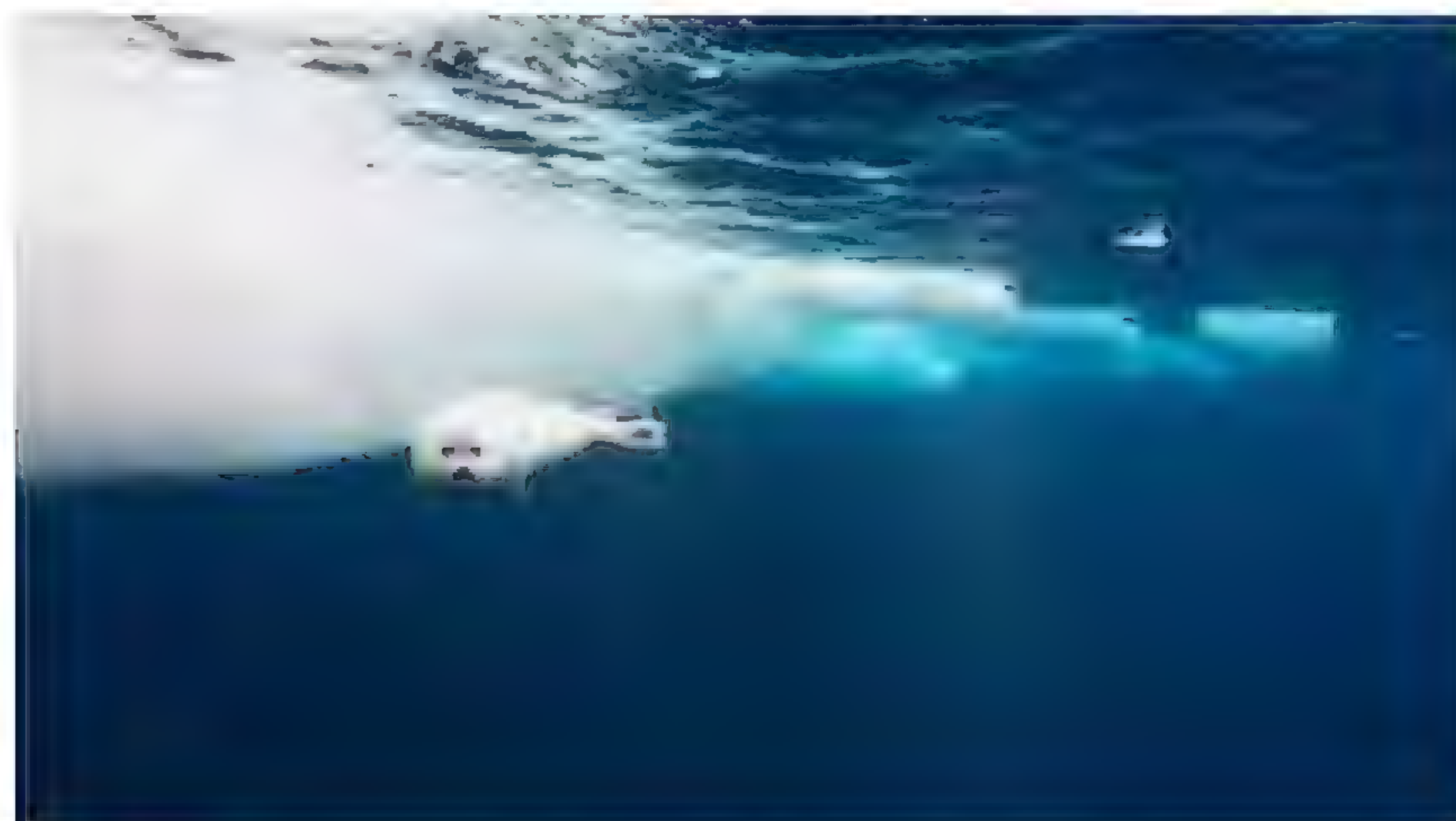
The killer whales target a young whale and spend an hour ramming it at high speed, eventually drowning it, before eating just its tongue. The chaser: more bowheads are falling prey to killer whales every year, as the climate crisis causes the barrier of ice separating the two species to melt earlier and earlier in the season. It’s us again.

But the programme is by no means all doom and gloom – those are merely the properties of the light in which humanity must now survey our planet.

We can rejoice – bitterly – as two adult polar bears, apparently unknown to one another, have a chance encounter on the ice, and frolic ecstatically about their frosty wilderness – “dancing on ice, apparently just for the joy of it”, as Sir David puts it.

“Polar bears thrive at this time of year [spring] due to the huge platform of ice from which they can hunt,” he adds. Later in the programme – and the calendar year – the ice is gone, and there is no thriving to be done anywhere.

“Temperatures in the Arctic are now rising faster than ever before, creating storms which break up the ice floes earlier each spring,” Sir David warns us, right after we’ve witnessed an impossibly beautiful baby seal learn to swim, then been left to fend for himself by his mother just 12 days after being born.



A baby harp seal swimming under the pack ice off east
Greenland (BBC)

“Harp seal pups are being tipped into freezing waters before they’re ready to endure long periods at sea,” he says. “In some pupping areas, almost none survive.”

In another gruesomely engrossing sequence, the camera takes us right up to the heaving snout of an overheating walrus emerging from the seaweed.

Looking like a giant locomotive scrotum with long curving tusks, we are treated to the unforgettable sight of a thick mucus of foaming snot which bubbles out over their whiskers as they pant in the sunshine. It sounds incredible. You almost stop breathing so as to avoid the smell which your television might emit. Then we have a look at the other end. A messy anus erupts with a comedy fart – right into the face of another tusked ballbag.

It is a beautiful, appalling, bombastic nightmare. And that’s before more hungry polar bears turn up to really crank up the bloody wretchedness of it all.

As our own society appears to be losing the foundation of its stability, the programme not only reveals the enormous damage we are doing to the world around us but also lets us glimpse the anarchic hell in which many species live – the brutish state of nature which functioning societies have helped us escape.

‘Frozen Planet II’ is on BBC One

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Vine: My children's fear of ex-BBC presenter stalker



Jeremy Vine was among the broadcasters stalked by Alex Belfield, a former BBC local radio DJ who has been jailed for five-and-a-half years (Anthony Harvey/Getty)

ELLIE HARRISON

Jeremy Vine has opened up about his experience of being stalked by former BBC presenter Alex Belfield, who was jailed for five-and-a-half-years last week.

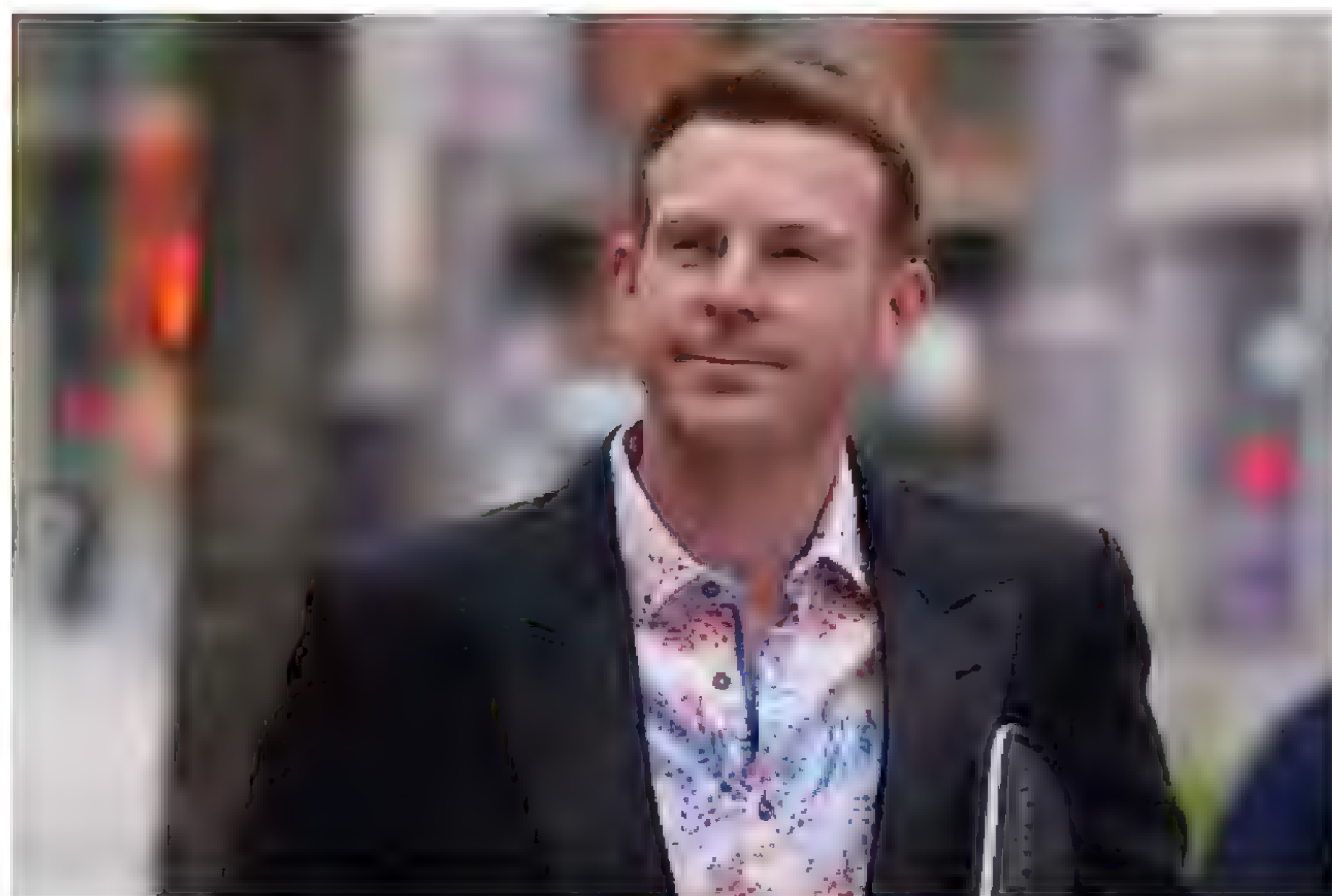
Belfield, a former BBC Leeds host turned YouTuber, waged a relentless stalking campaign against several journalists, with Vine labelling him “the Jimmy Savile of trolling” after he repeatedly posted or sent abusive messages, videos and emails.

Belfield, 42, was convicted at Nottingham Crown Court last month of four stalking charges, committed between 2012 and last year.

Jurors accepted he caused serious alarm or distress to two victims and was found guilty of “simple” stalking in relation to Channel 5 and BBC Radio 2 presenter Vine, and theatre blogger Philip Dehany.

In an interview with *The Times*, Vine talked about how the hardest part of his stalking ordeal was telling his teenage daughters that they needed to be careful leaving the house, as he was worried Belfield would incite one of his 360,000 followers to turn up at the Vine family home and physically attack them.

“Because he’s a coward, Belfield was never going to come to my house himself, but my fear was someone inspired by him would come and attack me or my children because of the hatred he was engendering against me,” said Vine.



Former BBC local radio DJ Alex Belfield (PA Wire)

“My youngest daughter was 13 then and she burst into tears when I told her there may be somebody who wants to hurt her. He doesn’t even know my daughter’s name, but she’s one of his victims.”

He said it was a year before she regained her confidence in leaving the house.

Belfield targeted Vine online, spreading vitriol about the presenter and claiming he stole £1,000 from a charity.

Vine said: “On YouTube, his videos were getting 500,000 views – it’s that wacky that people watch, like watching a car crash.

“I lost sleep over it. These people want to get into your head, and in the end, they do. You end up thinking: ‘How did I deserve this?’ I just collided with this ball of hatred. It’s like you bump into someone in the street and they stab you.”

In court, the judge said that there had been “no escape” for Belfield’s victims until bail conditions were imposed before his trial, and said he agreed with Vine’s characterisation that the ex-DJ had “weaponised the internet” against those he targeted.

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I left Wimbledon before I was pushed out, says Barker



Sue Barker revealed on 'Desert Island Discs' yesterday she wished her exit from 'A Question of Sport' was handled 'a little better' (Amanda Benson/BBC/PA)

ELLIE IORIZZO

Sue Barker has said she wanted to leave Wimbledon on her “own terms” rather than be “pushed out the door”, as she referenced her exit from *A Question of Sport* after 24 years.

The former professional tennis player, 66, bid a tearful farewell to Wimbledon this year after 30 years of presenting coverage of

the tennis event for the BBC.

It came two years after the broadcaster announced Paddy McGuinness would be taking over her role as host of *A Question of Sport*, at the same time that the show's team captains Matt Dawson and Phil Tufnell were replaced by Sam Quek and Ugo Monye.

Barker told Lauren Laverne on *Desert Island Discs*: "Matt and Tuffers, we are like best mates, we had such a bond and we absolutely loved that programme.

"We were devastated when it came to an end but all good things must come to an end. It wasn't our choice and we sort of knew it was coming.

"The way it was handled made me think about Wimbledon and the way I wanted to walk away on my own terms rather than be pushed out the door. To be taken into a room after 24 years and be told, 'We don't want you any more', I just wish they handled the end a little better."

In July, Barker announced her retirement from presenting the BBC's Wimbledon coverage. "I knew it was going to be sad, I love the job, I love Wimbledon, it is in my DNA," Barker said.

"I love the people I work with even more but you just have to pick when the time is right to go and I just felt that I could walk out with my head held high having had 30 amazing years."

Devon-born Barker chose the soundtrack to Wimbledon's Parade of Champions 2022 as her first desert island disc.



Barker at Wimbledon earlier this year (PA)

Struggling to hold back her tears, she told Laverne: “It was so wonderful and at the end of it, John McEnroe decided to say ‘well done’ to me for 30 years and the crowd’s reaction went on and on and for them to give me that ovation, I thought ‘job done’.

“It was really really emotional. I don’t know how I held it together out there.”

To mark Barker stepping down from her role, commentator and former Wimbledon champion McEnroe introduced a film of Barker’s highlights, featuring many famous faces.

Speaking about the tributes, which saw her idol Billie Jean King call her the greatest of all time, Barker said: “I never expected the tributes from my fellow players from my era and from the current era. It was surprising, embarrassing, emotional, it was everything.”

Talking about SW19 continuing to be a part of her life, she added: “I have already texted Heather Watson, wonderful girl, and I said I will be sitting courtside for your match next year. I am going to be screaming at the side telling her all sorts of things.”

PA

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Pictures of the Day



Majestic moves

Team Mexico competes in the Rhythmic Gymnastics World Championships in Sofia, Bulgaria. *AFP/Getty*



Nip and tuck

Rhiannan Iffland of Australia dives from the 22m platform during the Red Bull Cliff Diving World Series at Polignano a Mare, Italy. *Getty*



The more hands the merrier

A model gets ready prior to the Halpern spring/summer 2023 catwalk show on the fourth day of London Fashion Week.

AFP/Getty



Field of dreams

Children play in front of an abandoned building in Baikonur, Kazakhstan. *EPA*



Snow in September

A wintery scene by the Morskie Oko lake in the Polish Tatra Mountains after the first snowfall of the season. *EPA*

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Home news in brief



Food for thought: Charlotte Hill, CEO of The Felix Project, with volunteer Charles Thomas in London yesterday (PA)

Charity to redistribute confiscated food

Food confiscated from people waiting in the queue for the Queen's lying in state is being donated to charity. The Felix Project said it expects to collect over two tonnes of food, mostly snacks including crisps, chocolate and biscuits, and is also accepting unwanted blankets. The charity will distribute the items to community groups it works with across the capital.

The charity got involved after being told by The Scout Association that a lot of food was being thrown in the bin. Charity chief executive Charlotte Hill said: “We are honoured to be here to play a small part in this hugely poignant event and to know that an extra layer of good is being done here. This food is a hugely unique donation and will help hundreds of people who are struggling to afford to eat.”

Ebay removes Queen queue wristbands

The online site eBay is removing listings for the wristbands given to people queueing to see the Queen lying in state. Some people have sought to cash in by selling the bands, which have reportedly attracted bids of several thousand pounds before being removed. The eBay events tickets policy says tickets for things such as concerts, festivals, sports or theatre cannot be listed on the site. A few orange wristbands remained on the site under the header “new listing” yesterday morning. They were priced with starting bids from £20 to £150.

Health workers honoured in Queen’s funeral

Health workers and volunteers have described how they are “honoured” to play a role in the Queen’s funeral. Some will march in the funeral procession with the Queen’s coffin as part of the Civilian Services Contingent.

Among them will be May Parsons, the nurse who delivered the first ever Covid-19 jab outside of a clinical trial. Ms Parsons, who is a modern matron for respiratory services at University Hospitals Coventry and Warwickshire Trust, delivered the vaccine to Maggie Keenan on 8 December 2020. She met the Queen in July as the monarch awarded the NHS the George Cross – one of the last ceremonial medal presentations the Queen took part in. Just two months before she died, the Queen was “full of life and humorous”, Ms Parsons said.

Ms Parsons, along with frontline workers from Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland and NHS England chief executive

Amanda Pritchard, accepted the award on behalf of the institution at a small ceremony at Windsor Castle.

Two-thirds of trainee GPs plan to work part-time

Almost two-thirds of trainee GPs plan to work part-time a year after they qualify, research shows. This threatens to worsen the NHS's acute shortage of GPs and make it harder for patients to get an appointment. The King's Fund study found that 63 per cent of trainee GPs in England plan to work no more than six four-hour "sessions" a week one year after qualifying. Family doctors say they do not want to work any more shifts than that because their jobs are so intense and the extra work generated by seeing patients, such as referral letters, means a four-hour shift actually takes six or seven hours.

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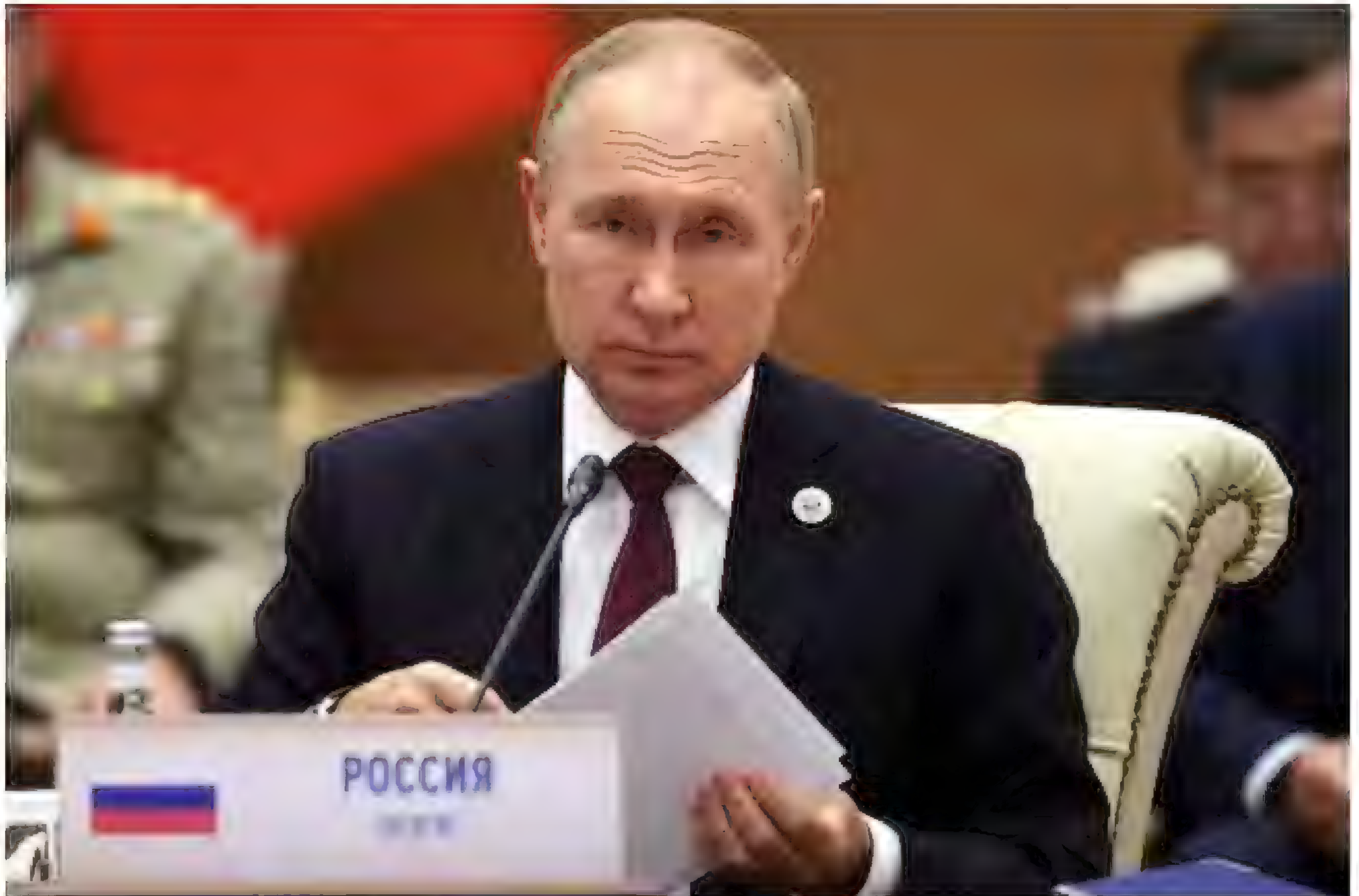
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UK army chief says Putin is ‘failing’ in his military aims

Russia does not have the resources to achieve its objectives against a strengthening Ukraine, says chief of defence staff



Vladimir Putin has made strategic errors, claims British military expert (Sputnik)

FURVAH SHAH

Vladimir Putin is “failing on all of his military strategic objectives”, the UK’s chief of the defence staff has said. Admiral Sir Tony Radakin said pressure is mounting on the Russian

president as his country's defences weaken in the face of Ukrainian counterattacks.

The comments came after UK intelligence said it was unclear whether Russia's frontline forces have adequate reserves or morale to withstand attacks from Ukrainian forces. Sir Tony told the BBC: "At the very outset, we said that this was a strategic error by President Putin, and strategic errors lead to strategic consequences. And in this instance, it's strategic failure.

"Putin is failing on all of his military strategic objectives. He wanted to subjugate Ukraine; that's not going to happen. He wanted to take control of the capital; we saw that was defeated earlier on. We saw that he wanted to weaken Nato. Nato is now much stronger, and we have Finland and Sweden joining.

"He wants to break the international resolve. Well, actually that strengthened over this period, and he's under pressure, his problems are mounting."

Sir Tony added that Mr Putin does not have enough manpower or equipment to carry out his military objectives, especially as Ukrainian forces become stronger. "We're also seeing a magnificent Ukrainian armed forces who have been courageous, they're fighting for their country, and they've embraced the international support that all of us are providing," he said.



Ukrainian servicemen rest at a former Russian position in the recently retaken area around Izyum (AP)

But he also warned that countries should remain cautious, saying: “I think it’s significant in terms of what’s happening on the ground – it’s really significant for Ukrainian morale and significant for the impact it has on Russian forces. But people need to be cautious; the likely result with all of this is that it’s going to grind on for a long time.

“And that’s why there’s a wishfulness when people jump to conclusions that either President Putin is weak, and his power base might be undermined, or that Ukraine has gained some ground and there’s been a magnificent action in the northeast. But it doesn’t automatically lead on to easy victories elsewhere.”

In a statement, the UK Ministry of Defence said Russia had escalated its attacks on civilian targets in the past seven days, despite its actions having “no immediate military effect”. “As it faces setbacks on the front lines, Russia has likely extended the locations it is prepared to strike in an attempt to directly undermine the morale of the Ukrainian people and government,” the MoD’s update said.

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Russian singer asks to be named as 'foreign agent'



Alla Pugacheva made the move in solidarity with her husband who has been designated as one (Reuters)

STAFF REPORTER

The Russian singer Alla Pugacheva, hugely popular since Soviet times, says she wants to be placed on Russia's foreign agents list in solidarity with her husband who has been designated as one.

The statement by Pugacheva on Instagram yesterday is a notable slap from a prominent figure at Russian authorities, who have stifled dissent in recent years.

Pugacheva's husband, singer and TV presenter Maxim Galkin, who has criticised Russia sending troops into Ukraine, was added to the foreign agents register on Saturday by the justice ministry for allegedly conducting political activities on behalf of Ukraine and receiving Ukrainian funding.

She called Galkin a “true and incorruptible patriot” who wishes for “the end of deaths of our guys for illusory goals”.

Russian law allows organisations and individuals deemed to be involved in political activity that receive funding from abroad to be declared foreign agents. The term carries a strong pejorative sense and implies additional government scrutiny.

Pugacheva, 73, is noted for her emotional singing and colorful performances. She hit stardom in the 1970s and remains widely popular throughout the former Soviet Union.

Associated Press

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EU moves to suspend one-third of Hungary's funding



Viktor Orbán's government has until 19 November to address the EU's concerns (AP)

JON STONE

The European Commission has proposed suspending around a third of Hungary's EU funding over its government's questionable approach to the rule of law.

EU budget commissioner Johannes Hahn said yesterday that the central European country should be stripped of €7.5bn (£6.5bn) of the €22bn in cohesion funds that Budapest is set to receive

during the current round of EU budget spending. This represents about 65 per cent of the money allocated under three specific funding streams.

The proposal, if carried, would represent the bloc's clearest action yet against Viktor Orbán's far-right government, which has been accused of corruption and undermining democratic norms. "Today's decision is a clear demonstration of the commission's resolve to protect the EU budget, and to use all tools at our disposal to ensure this important objective," Mr Hahn said.

The commission's proposal would have to be approved by a majority of EU member states – which EU diplomats believe is a realistic hurdle. The move by Brussels represents the first use of a new mechanism introduced two years ago to tie EU budget disbursements to basic democratic standards. Some EU member states had complained that Hungary was taking billions of euros in EU funding while its government flouted the bloc's values.

In July, the commission's report on the member state said Mr Orbán's government was presiding over "an environment where risks of clientelism, favouritism and nepotism in high-level public administration remain unaddressed". Hungary has until 19 November to address the EU's concerns before the rule of law procedure moves to the next phase.

On Thursday, members of the European parliament again voted to condemn Hungary's slide into authoritarianism. In September 2018, the parliament voted by a two-thirds majority, 448 to 197, to initiate Article 7 rule of law proceedings against Hungary. The UK's Conservative Party was the only governing conservative party in Western Europe not to back the measure, lining up with the far right and arguing that the motion was "politicised".

Mr Orbán's government has been accused of violating press freedoms, undermining judicial independence, and waging an antisemitic campaign against leading Jewish businessman George Soros.

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Protests after video of bathing students 'leaked'



Dozens of women claim no action was taken after footage of them bathing was released (ANI)

SHWETA SHARMA

Hundreds of students at a private university in the Indian state of Chandigarh are protesting after several female students alleged their personal videos were leaked and no action was taken by the college.

Protests continued yesterday afternoon at the campus after the university denied any videos were released. A woman who was also a student at the same university was accused of recording the videos and sending them to a man in Himachal Pradesh's

Shimla city. The accused, a first-year MBA student, was arrested yesterday and police are looking for the man in Shimla.

“Only after he is caught, more details will be known. A forensic probe of her mobile phone will be conducted,” officer Gurpreet Deo said. Punjab chief minister Bhagwant Mann has ordered a high-level investigation into the incident and appealed to students to avoid rumours after protests turned violent.

Yesterday morning, several students claimed that the videos were leaked on the internet and that subsequently, some girls allegedly attempted suicide at the university premises on Saturday night.

However, both the claims have been denied by the university and the police following a growing uproar. “So far in our investigation, we have found out that there is only one video of the accused herself. She has not recorded any other video of anyone else,” Mohali police chief Vivek Soni said. Denying any suicide attempts by female students, Mr Soni said: “One student who was taken in an ambulance was suffering from anxiety and our team is in contact with her.”

Chandigarh University chancellor Dr RS Bawa said in a statement that “rumours” that 60 objectionable videos have been found of students are “totally false and baseless”. “During the preliminary investigation conducted by the university, there have been no videos found of any student which are objectionable except a personal video shot by a girl which was shared by herself to her boyfriend,” he said.

A huge number of protesters gathered on the Ludhiana-Chandigarh highway on Saturday night and the situation turned violent after several police and students clashed. Videos showed police officers deployed at the scene trying to break up the protest and students could be heard claiming that they were beaten. A video of a student being taken to hospital in a vehicle also went viral, sparking rumours a student tried to take their own life.

Delhi chief minister Arvind Kejriwal, whose party is in power in Punjab, promised the “harshest punishment” to the culprits,

describing it as a “very serious and shameful” episode. Punjab’s higher education minister Gurmeet Singh Meet Hayer said it is really “saddening to know about the unfortunate incident”.

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DeSantis is content to keep feeding his outrage machine

The Florida governor has been condemned for his gimmicks, such as flying a group of immigrants to Martha's Vineyard – but they also bolster his poll ratings, writes **Chris Stevenson**



Ron DeSantis certainly shares more than a few traits with Donald Trump (Getty)

Ron DeSantis, Florida's Republican governor, has often been touted as someone who embodies Donald Trump's view of America without the associated baggage – Trumpism without the Trump.

Earlier this year, DeSantis signed a bill into law that was designed to “protect Floridians from discrimination and woke indoctrination”, and his personal political brand is built on a similar foundation: the promise of what he sees as protecting the country from liberals.

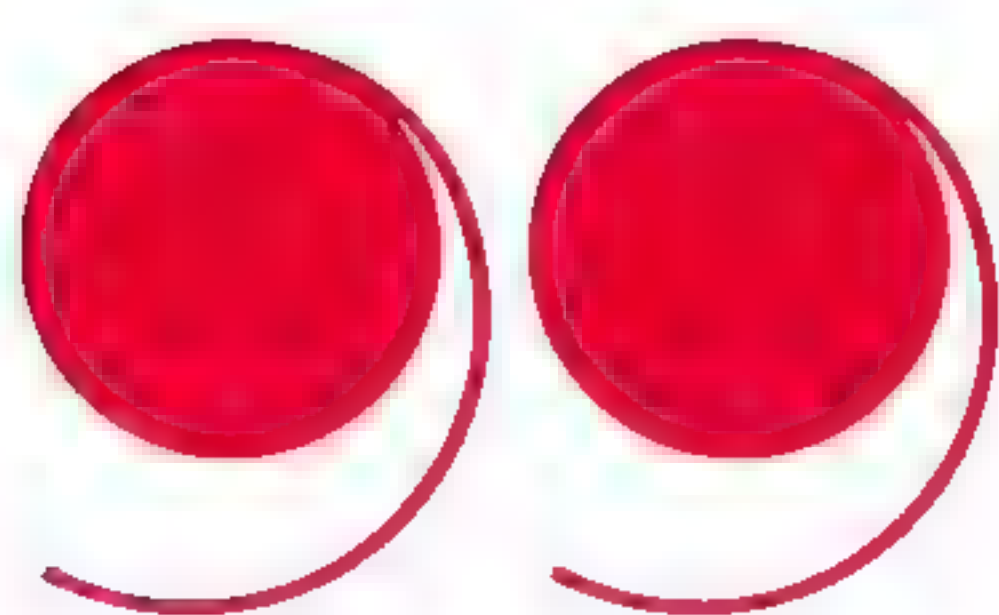
He certainly shares more than a few traits with Trump, who endorsed him in the Republican Party’s Florida governor primary in 2018. DeSantis also made plenty of his support for Trump at the same time. Both men like to court outrage, and are quite happy to face down any criticism of their actions in the media, knowing that it is likely to make them more popular with their supporter base.

So we turn to DeSantis’s latest stunt: sending two planes carrying around 50 people, mostly Venezuelan and Colombian migrants, to Martha’s Vineyard, which is located off the coast of Massachusetts and is well known as a summer destination for wealthy holidaymakers.

Why did he do it? To highlight his opposition to the policies of the Biden administration in relation to the US border, particularly its southern border.



We are not a sanctuary state ... Every community in America should be sharing in the burdens. It shouldn't all fall on a handful of red states



“We are not a sanctuary state, and it’s better to be able to go to a sanctuary jurisdiction [cities or states that limit cooperation with the enforcement of federal immigration law] – and yes, we will

help facilitate that transport for you to be able to go to greener pastures,” DeSantis said. “Every community in America should be sharing in the burdens. It shouldn’t all fall on a handful of red states.”

The response? Exactly what he wanted. Democrats decried the stunt – New Jersey’s Democratic senator Bob Menendez called it “outrageous”, saying that DeSantis had shown “no concern for the lives of these people”. A number of Florida newspapers added their condemnation. Meanwhile, some Republicans applauded, which will no doubt give a short-term boost to DeSantis’s national polling numbers.

DeSantis has raised \$175.8m (£152.4m) for his re-election campaign as Florida governor, according to the most recent filings, and plenty of polls have placed him as the second most popular Republican behind Trump. He is seen by many analysts as possibly the only Republican who could challenge the former president in a presidential primary, if his current momentum keeps up.

What seems clear to all, though, is that DeSantis is happy to keep courting outrage.

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Tsunami warning issued after earthquake hits Taiwan



A collapsed apartment building in Hualien County, eastern Taiwan (AP)

SHWETA SHARMA

A tsunami warning has been issued by the US authorities after a magnitude 7.2 earthquake struck the east coast of Taiwan, with initial reports of shaking felt in Taipei.

The tremors from the powerful quake could be felt across Taiwan, the country's weather bureau said. The earthquake hit Taiwan less than 24 hours after a 6.4 magnitude tremor rocked the southeastern city of Taitung at around 9.41pm on Saturday.

Sharing the first visuals of damage from the earthquake, Taiwanese broadcasters said a low-rise two-story residential building collapsed and at least one train carriage was derailed at a station on the east coast. It was unclear if there were any casualties.

Videos shared on social media showed chandeliers and chairs moving violently. However, *The Independent* could not immediately verify the video. Another clip from the aftermath of the disaster showed a white cloud of smoke filling the street from a collapsed building.

The Japan Meteorological Agency has also issued an alert for a tsunami, warning that waves as high as 1 metre (3ft) could threaten several southern Japanese islands. The federal agency said tsunami waves could hit Yonaguni island, Japan's westernmost island about 110km (70 miles) east of Taiwan, at around 4.10pm local time, and subsequently impact three nearby islands.

Alerts have also been issued for the Miyakojima and Yaeyama regions of Okinawa Prefecture. Officials have urged residents living near the coastline to stay away from these areas. These islands are about 2,000km (1,200 miles) southwest of Tokyo. The island nation's weather agency projected that the earthquake was at a 6.8 magnitude on the Richter scale.

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World news in brief



Woody Allen, here with Diane Keaton in 1977's 'Annie Hall', intends to retire in order to focus on writing novels (Rollins-Joffe/United Artists/Kobal/Shutterstock)

Woody Allen plans to retire after his next film

Woody Allen has announced that he will retire from filmmaking after the release of his next film, *Waspy* 22, in order to focus on novel-writing. The 86-year-old filmmaker, who has 49 feature films to his name, is set to begin production on the movie this month.

The film – Allen’s 50th – will be shot in Paris, almost entirely in French, and is rumoured to star Isabelle Huppert. No plot details have been revealed, but Allen told Spanish newspaper *La Vanguardia*: “It will be similar to *Match Point*. Exciting, dramatic and also sinister.”

Discussing his retirement plans, he said: “My idea, in principle, is not to make more movies and focus on writing,” Allen told the newspaper, adding that his next project will be a novel. He said: “I imagine [the novel] will have a lot of humour, because that’s what comes naturally to me. But if I had a very serious idea, I wouldn’t hesitate to do the same thing I did in some of my films.”

Paul Pogba’s brother in police custody in alleged extortion case

The brother of former Manchester United star Paul Pogba is in police custody over claims he was part of a gang that tried to extort millions from the footballer. Mathias Pogba has been detained along with three other people on suspicion of gang-based extortion and participation in a criminal association, a judicial source said.

Mathias was held for questioning after visiting a Paris police station in connection with the investigation on Wednesday afternoon, according to an official close to the investigation. He has denied taking part in extortion attempts against his brother.

Four other people who appeared with Mathias before a judge on Saturday were also put under formal investigation. Three of them were ordered to be detained.

South Korean crypto developer says he is ‘not on the run’

Do Kwon, South Korea’s co-founder of the failed cryptocurrency Terra, has issued a series of sarcastic tweets denying that he is on the run and saying that the police have no “business” knowing his location.

Mr Kwon is subject to an arrest warrant in South Korea along with five other people, for allegedly violating capital markets law. His whereabouts have been the subject of international intrigue after the prosecutor's office in Seoul said on 14 September that he was in Singapore, but the city-state's police said on Saturday night that Mr Kwon was not there.

"I will tell you what i am doing and where i am if: 1) we are friends 2) we have plans to meet 3) we are involved in a gps based web3 game. Otherwise you have no business knowing my gps coordinates," he said in a tweet. "I am not 'on the run' or anything similar – for any government agency that has shown interest to communicate, we are in full cooperation and we don't have anything to hide," he added.

French 'Spider-Man' scales Paris skyscraper for 60th birthday

The free climber known as the "French Spider-Man" has celebrated his 60th birthday by scaling a 187-metre Paris skyscraper. Alain Robert was pictured climbing up the Tour Total building in the La Defense business district on Saturday.

Without the help of ropes or a safety harness, the athlete clung to the 48-storey tower's window frames using only his hands, reaching the top of the building in 60 minutes. His 60th birthday was last month. The climber has conquered Tour Total, currently serving as the headquarters of oil company TotalEnergies, numerous times in the past.

"I promised myself several years ago that when I reached 60, I would climb that tower again, because 60 symbolises retirement age in France and I thought that was a nice touch," he said. When he reached the top, he raised his arms above his head to celebrate, while those on the ground cheered.

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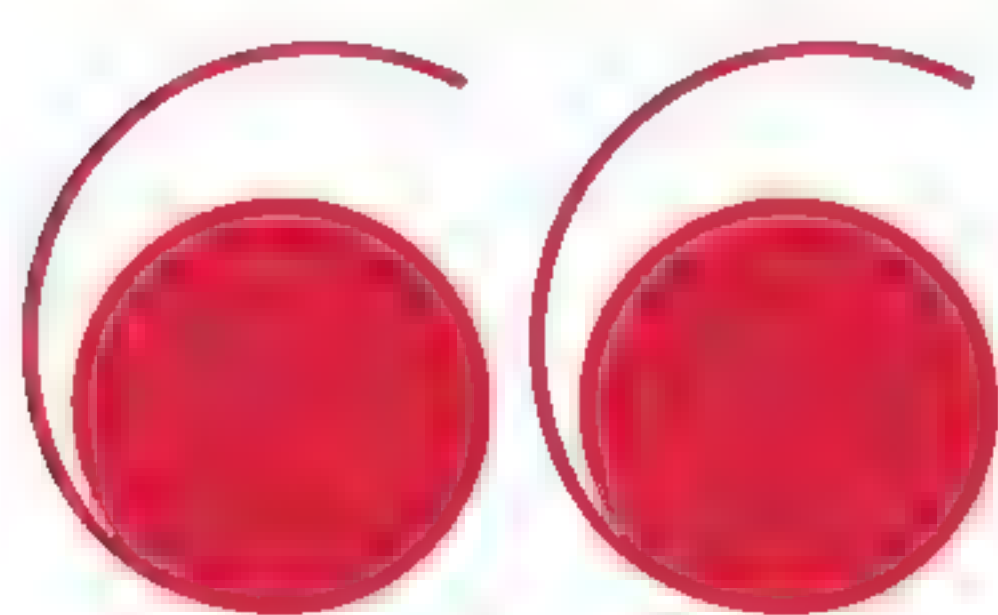


The King needs his people as much as they depend on him



'Long live the King' shouts the crowd. 'Long live the people!' he needs to reply (AP)

MARY DEJEVSKY



The death of Queen Elizabeth II, at such a great age, after such a long reign, was always going to call for a unique solemnity and grandeur. That

much was expected. Less expected, perhaps, was how many would rise so magnificently to the occasion.

There is the King, of course, who within hours of his mother's death was transformed almost before our eyes into a more serious, more authoritative, and also somehow more approachable figure than he ever seemed to be as a prince. There is Princess Anne, as ever low-key, who accompanied her mother's coffin to London and spoke of how fortunate she had been to share "the last 24 hours of my dearest mother's life", and of the "honour and privilege" it had been "to accompany her on her final journeys".

Then there are the two princes, who had to replicate for their grandmother the long walk they had made as children behind their mother's coffin. And, in the centre of everything, the dead Queen in her lead-lined coffin, draped in the royal standard, with the wreath, the crown, the sceptre and the orb – the accoutrements of power remaining, still, until she is buried at Windsor.

But another star has emerged over the past 10 days, shining, if anything, brighter than the others. And that star is the people. From one day to the next, the people have come out in ever greater numbers, with ever greater confidence; sometimes, it almost seemed – as when the King and the Prince of Wales went to meet some of those queueing to file past the Queen's coffin – on an equal footing with royalty. Along with the extended hands, there was an assuredness, a cheerfulness, and an informality that seemed to speak of a new, less stuffy and more relaxed age.

We shall see, of course. But those encounters on London's South Bank did not come completely out of the blue. They were the culmination of small episodes over a week in which monarchy and modernity seemed to meet. There were the crowds waiting for the Queen's coffin at Buckingham Palace, who formed something akin to an impromptu guard of honour with their mobile phones. There were the drivers who screeched to a halt in the fast lane of the A40, when they realised that the Queen's cortege was travelling towards them along the opposite carriageway, and jumped out of their cars to salute from the

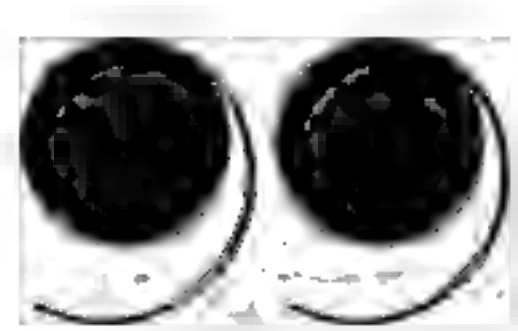
central reservation. (I know that road well, and watched the video clips in astonishment.)

There was the matter of Prince Harry's military uniform. The King had apparently decided quite early on that the disgraced Prince Andrew, a helicopter pilot in the Falklands war, would be permitted to wear his ceremonial uniform – one last time? – to stand guard at the lying-in-state. That left Prince Harry, the only other member of the royal family to have seen active service, alone in being required to wear civilian dress.

It is reported that the initial decision was based on Harry no longer being a “working royal”. It is also reported that he did not make any request himself. So how come the King decided that Harry could, after all, wear his uniform to guard the Queen at her lying-in-state – albeit without the ER insignia? Could it be that he heeded rumblings in public opinion about the perversity of a situation where the only senior royals not wearing military uniform were those who had actually fought for Queen and country in real wars? Maybe that is not what happened, but perhaps it did.

Last, but not least, has been “The Queue”, hugging the South Bank of the Thames, at times right back to Bermondsey in the east. Even when the authorities tried to close it for a spell, as Southwark Park was judged to be at capacity, it regenerated itself by way of informal queues that effectively marshalled themselves.

What can be seen is how far the power of the monarch – such as this exists in a constitutional monarchy – derives not just from the passive consent of the people, but from their acknowledgement and engagement



Many have remarked on how much the queue came to resemble a pilgrimage, with the queuers' singleness of purpose, their camaraderie along the way, and the charities and well-wishers offering victuals and encouragement through day and night. Southwark Cathedral also offered a refuge, marking a halfway point. All this is rather different, as I remember, from the queue for the Queen Mother's lying-in-state. That snaked across two bridges, but those waiting were generally older, more formal in manner and dress, and more subdued for the whole distance. The difference is 20 years; a generation.

There is also the applause. The first time I can recall public applause at a royal funeral was when the crowd that had gathered outside Westminster Abbey clapped Earl Spencer's tribute to his "hunted" sister, Princess Diana. It has now become a feature at funerals generally, but a sprinkling of applause from the public has followed the royal party around, including when they completed their stint standing guard at the coffin.

It is probably fair to say, too, that the bigger and more active role for the public – the people – over the days of national mourning for the Queen reflects lessons learned by the palace and the authorities generally from the mistakes made in handling the death of Diana.

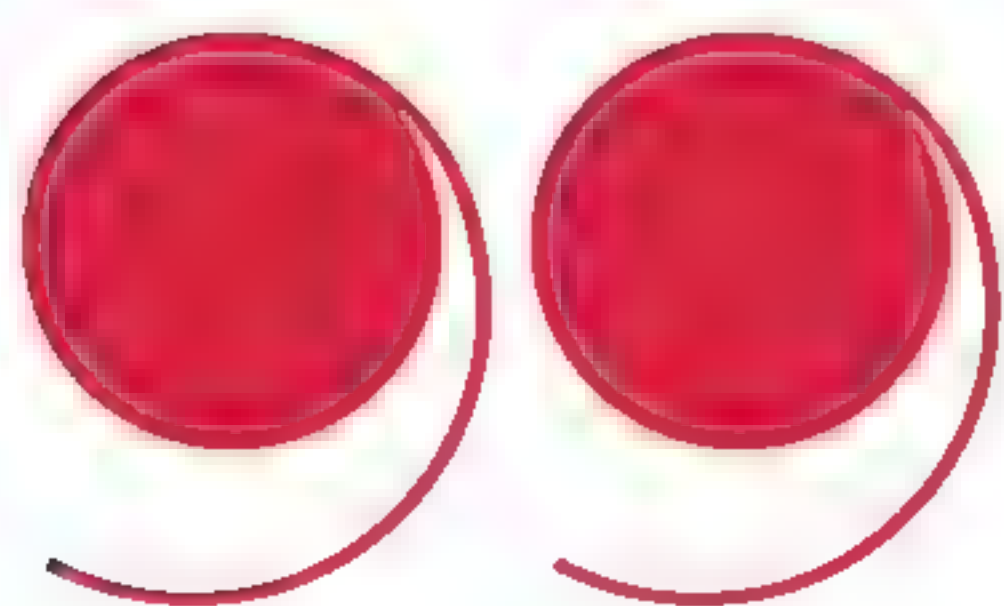
The King's very personal broadcast to the nation on the day after his mother's death can be seen as one advance, as can the extensive engagement of the King and senior royals with the public across the UK. In terms of practicalities, the walking routes and the gardens organised in the royal parks for people to lay flowers have provided an elegant way of avoiding the mountains of flowers left for Diana, while the management of the queue surely also reflects new technical possibilities, now most people have mobile phones.

For me, though, the most striking aspect of everything that has happened over the past 10 days is the alacrity with which King Charles has been embraced by the people. Early enthusiasm, of course, may pall. Missteps could lead to the monarch forfeiting the enthusiastic goodwill that has passed – with as yet negligible public dissent – so directly from mother to son.

What can also be seen, however, is how far the power of the monarch – such as this exists in a constitutional monarchy – derives not just from the passive consent of the people, but from their acknowledgement and engagement. Just imagine how much trouble not just Charles, but the institution of the monarchy, would be in if no one had flocked to the gates of Balmoral or Buckingham Palace after the Queen died; if no one had tuned in to the King's first broadcast; if no one, or only ministers and MPs, had wanted to file past her coffin.

In an age where communication is 24/7 and flows both ways, a modern monarch needs the people quite as much as they need the monarch; probably more. And the signs that the institution's time is running out may be less about when rebellion stalks the land than when the people lose the sense that the monarch is somehow theirs.

The words and actions of Charles III since he became King suggest that he knows this, with his reign already having a different feel from that of his mother. But it is a sharp turn that leaves open the question of whether he will be able to carry on as he has begun. "Long live the King," shouts the crowd. "Long live the people!" he needs to reply.



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Abolishing the monarchy is how we build a fairer society



Being a king, atop an unequal and unjust economic system, means you have your own rules (AP)

SONALI BHATTACHARYYA



Our public sphere is being stifled. Multiple arrests for the mildest of public protests against King Charles's accession; wall-to-wall positive media coverage with barely a single republican viewpoint; parliament adjourned at a time of desperate worry for working-

class families; major sporting events cancelled, and even kids' football halted.

It is clear that there are many people throughout the country mourning the Queen's death. It is right that they are afforded opportunities to do so. But there is also a sizeable section of the population – including a large and growing number of young people – who do not believe in hereditary privilege, don't consent to King Charles's accession, and want a different kind of political system. We deserve to have our voices heard.

We are in the middle of a crisis – not just of living costs, but of inequality. Energy bills are squeezing families' budgets, as energy corporations rake in billions in profit. Wages are squeezed by growing inflation as billionaires get richer by the day. The accession of a very wealthy aristocrat to monarch, with parliament adjourned at a time when solutions to the cost of living crisis are desperately needed, is a feature of this crisis, not an interruption of it.

Being a king, atop an unequal and unjust economic system, means you have your own rules. Charles III, for example, will pay no inheritance tax on his mother's private wealth, whereas the public have to pay 40 per cent on anything inherited over a £325,000 threshold.

The monarch is also immune from dozens more laws: King Charles will be exempt from having to comply with various workers' rights, health and safety, and pensions legislation, while the police are effectively barred from entering his private estate to investigate crimes without the crown's permission. Shockingly, royal household employees are unable to raise sexual and racial discrimination complaints.

This story is one we know well – because it's not exclusive to the royal family. For the past 40 years, we have lived under an economic system that has given increasing power to the wealthy at the expense of working people. The welfare state has been vandalised, housing has become prohibitively expensive, workers' rights have been eroded – and the rich have got richer because of it.

The news that dozens of King Charles's staff have been made redundant, in the middle of an incredibly busy work period and a cost of living crisis, reflects an experience that will be familiar to many workers across the country. A spokesperson for Clarence House, the King's London residence for nearly 20 years, said they were "working urgently to identify alternative roles for the greatest possible number of staff".

In this context, the monarchical regime and its basis in hereditary privilege must be up for debate. The monarchy's role in British colonialism is a good place to start. August marked the 75th anniversary of the partition of the Indian subcontinent, when a British civil servant carved up the territory after spending 10 weeks in the region. More than a million people died as a result.

Just as silence reigns when it comes to Britain's colonial past, we are also told that silence is the only respectful mode amid the death of one monarch and the accession of another – even in a time of deep national crisis



As Pakistanis struggle with the reality of climate collapse, it's clear that the legacy of empire is an ongoing disaster for many. The unimaginable wealth of the royal family is built on the forced transfer of wealth and resources from the global South to Britain's coffers. Our country needs to help build a new system that delivers justice for all – but this can only happen if historic wrongs are recognised as part of our national story.

Just as silence reigns when it comes to Britain's colonial past, we are also told that silence is the only respectful mode amid the death of one monarch and the accession of another – even in a time of deep national crisis. There is a tone that needs to be

struck when some are mourning, but it is wrong to suspend politics entirely.

Parliament has been adjourned, and Keir Starmer has told Labour MPs that the only media-related activity they can perform is paying tribute to the Queen in their local paper. The impending rise in bills in October: silence. The shooting of an unarmed Black man in London: silence. These issues cannot wait. People in this country desperately need a government that is taking decisive action to help them – not a self-imposed recess, however respectful the intention.

There are some who have bravely decided to put forward their republican beliefs, by standing with placards or by shouting slogans at official events. They have either been quickly moved on, or arrested by police. My party's leader, a human rights lawyer no less, questioned the "respect" of the protesters and refused to criticise the heavy-handed policing. With dissent criminalised, his disregard for the democratic right to protest at a time of deep economic and political turmoil is deeply concerning.

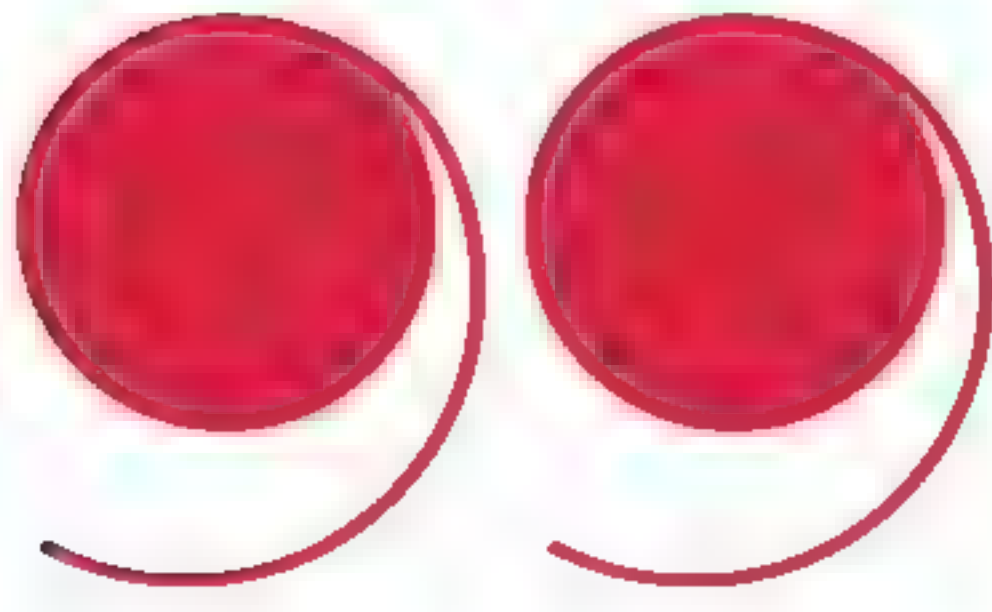
But there is a wider point here, too. The way protesters have been treated, and the way that Prince Andrew's reputation is carefully being restored, is indicative of the deep inequality in our country. You'll get arrested for shouting "Andrew, you're a sick old man," but receive the full protection of the British state if you're a prince and American prosecutors want to question you about child sex offences.

Which brings us back to the most important principle in the argument for reviving the republican movement. Our country suffers greatly from inequality – that is, from ordinary people getting shafted while the rich and powerful get away with whatever they want. It follows naturally from this that no one person should possess the divine right to represent our nation as its head of state.

Democracy matters. Without it, there is no accountability and no justice. In our political institutions, in our workplaces, there must be mechanisms by which we can hold powerful people to

account, and have our voices heard. These are the principles that must define our country, and our world.

Sonali Bhattacharyya is a representative on Momentum's executive and an award-winning playwright and screenwriter



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The Iranian regime depends on the harassment of women



Mahsa Amini's death has riled the country's most politically active ethnic minority (EPA)

BORZOU DARAGAH



She was a 22-year-old full of life and dreams, visiting Tehran for what was probably the kind of trip taken by many Iranians, attracted to the capital for its frenetic pace and relatively relaxed cultural atmosphere. On Friday, Mahsa Amini died after falling into a coma following her arrest on 13 September, by the regime's

morality enforcers, for the crime of wearing “bad hijab” – that is, being improperly or immodestly dressed.

Iranian regime broadcasters have released inconclusive video footage suggesting that she collapsed on her own after her arrest. But there are credible allegations that she was savagely beaten while in custody, perhaps in the police van in which she was carted off to jail for what authorities called “education”.

Iranians inside and outside the country are outraged, and rightly so. Regardless of whether Amini was physically abused or not, the regime had her in custody on a ridiculous charge, and they deserve all the scorn they are getting. Protests have erupted outside Tehran’s Kasra Hospital, where she died, as well as at her funeral on Saturday morning, and in cities around the country.

Human rights groups often call on Iran to stop arrests for such crimes. What they sometimes miss is just how vital such repression and harassment campaigns are to the survival of the regime. Iran’s morality enforcers, formally called guidance patrols, frequently harass young women for letting a bit too much hair peek out of their mandatory headscarves, or allowing skin to show at their ankles. Men are also occasionally targeted.

The arrests are often arbitrary, with enforcement ebbing and flowing seemingly at random. Sometimes women wearing the skimpiest of headscarves are ignored. Sometimes wearing too much make-up is considered a violation. Sometimes young men in shorts are arrested, while older joggers on runs are not.

Wear a bright smile and a dour outfit and you might get stopped. Frown and wear a skimpy overcoat and you might be allowed to pass unbothered. The helter-skelter approach is by design. It keeps everyone on their toes and frightened, on the back foot, lest they are forced to spend the night in jail and pay a fine.

The enforcers themselves are often bitter, underpaid apparatchiks culled from the pious lower classes and set upon their better educated and more cosmopolitan fellow citizens. It is an artificially fostered class war, meant to distract, degrade and humiliate both segments of society, to make them more manageable.

Meanwhile, the clerical and security elite pilfer the country's coffers and play geopolitics with public funds, seeking glory to sustain the Islamic Republic. Identity politics keep the base loyal. Repression keeps the opposition weak and scared. It is a formula that has kept the regime in power for 43 years. But it is also one that is enraging to the bulk of society, and this time it appears it has gone too far. And the regime knows it.

President Ebrahim Raisi and parliamentary speaker Mohammad Baqer Qalibaf are calling for urgent investigations into Amini's death. But both leaders represent hardline factions that are among the pillars of Iran's incessant harassment and repression of women.

Amini's agonising death and Iran's broader troubles will cast a dark shadow on Iran as Raisi appears at the United Nations in the coming days. The irony will be bitter



Interior ministry official Majid Mirahmadi vowed that an investigation into the death would proceed “with speed, without prejudgement and with evidence”. But Iranian officials have blatantly lied so often about such incidents that they have little credibility, and Iran has a long history of brutalising women for speaking their minds.

There was the 2003 case of journalist Zahra Kazemi, the Canadian-Iranian journalist who was locked up in prison and savagely beaten to death in an incident that has soured Tehran's relations with Ottawa for nearly two decades.

During protests in 2009 after the disputed re-election of a hardliner, a militia gunman shot dead Neda Agha-Soltan, a young woman who was protesting. Another woman, Sepideh Rashno, was arrested in July for wearing allegedly inappropriate

clothing, beaten until she made a “forced” confession on television, and now faces a prison sentence.

In another case, two Iranian LGBT+ activists are facing death sentences on trumped-up “human trafficking” charges after one of them gave an interview to BBC Persian about what life is like for sexual minorities in Iran. The regime’s obsession with targeting outspoken women has even extended abroad, where the regime allegedly hired armed henchmen to stalk and possibly harm the outspoken exiled anti-hijab activist and journalist Masih Alinejad outside her New York City home.

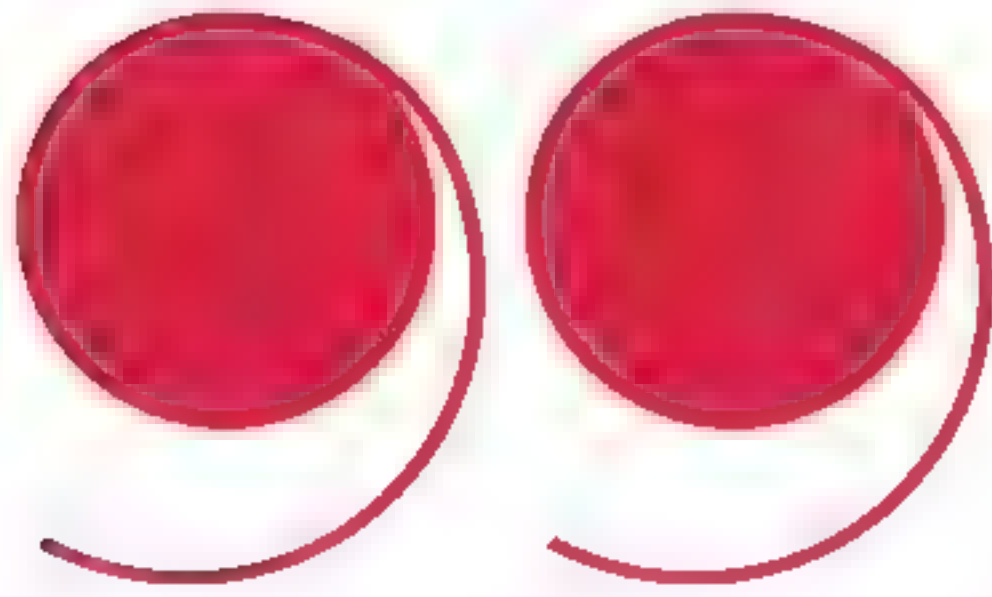
The regime has reportedly put pressure on Amini’s family members to keep quiet, but they continue to speak out. “The cause of the accident is as clear as day,” Amini’s uncle reportedly told the Centre for Human Rights in Iran, an advocacy organisation based outside the country. “What happens when they grab girls and stick them in the car with such ferocity and terror? Do they have the right? They know nothing about Islam, nor humanity.”

Making matters even more potentially treacherous for the regime, Amini was an ethnic Kurd, a native of the small city of Saghez, and her death has riled up the country’s most volatile and politically active ethnic minority. A coalition of ethnic Kurdish groups has called for a strike to take place tomorrow over Amini’s death.

At gatherings in front of the hospital where Amini died and at her burial, protesters chanted slogans calling for the death of supreme leader Ali Khamenei. Enraged women publicly removed their headscarves in protest. Clashes between protesters and police erupted in several cities, including the capital, and there were reports that gunfire and teargas were directed at unarmed demonstrators.

All this is coming at a time when the country’s economy continues to flounder, in part because of sanctions imposed over its atrocious human rights record as well as its nuclear programme.

Amini's agonising death and Iran's broader troubles will cast a dark shadow on Iran as Raisi appears at the United Nations in the coming days. The irony will be bitter. Standing at the dais addressing the General Assembly in New York, watched by the world's cameras, the black-turbaned cleric will be able to rail freely against "the West" and America for their supposed ills. At the same moment, young Iranian women like Amini will continue to face the prospect of death or jail just for peacefully expressing themselves.



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A strong dollar and a weak pound spells serious trouble



I don't think chancellor Kwasi Kwarteng and this government quite realise how hostile the economic environment is towards it (Getty)

HAMISH MCRAE
IN WASHINGTON DC



A sinking pound or a soaring dollar? The view of the world from Washington DC is always different from that from London, but never more so than this week. The president is in the UK for the state funeral of Queen Elizabeth II, as are most of the other global

leaders, but from here the prime question this week is: what will the Federal Reserve do to interest rates?

Britain is important in cultural terms, and the monarchy is a key element of the country's "soft power", the expression coined by the US academic Joseph Nye to show how image and culture extended the US's global reach above and beyond its military might. That matters. But from an economic or financial perspective, the UK is a bit of a backwater.

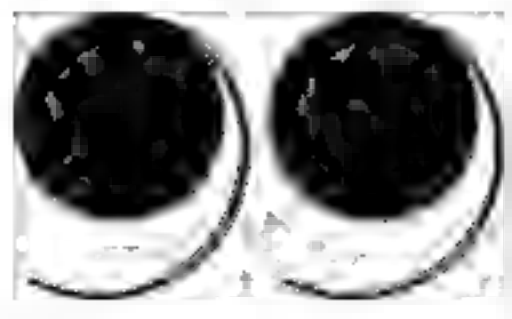
You can see that in the lack of any response here in the US to the fact that last week the pound plunged to its lowest against the dollar since "Black Wednesday" 30 years ago, when sterling was kicked out of the European Exchange Rate Mechanism.

Given that it was this event that destroyed the reputation of John Major's government and paved the way for Tony Blair's New Labour, what happened last week carries an ominous warning for Liz Truss. But in the US, no one seems to care. What matters is how much the Federal Reserve will increase interest rates this coming Wednesday. Will it be 0.75 per cent, the mainstream expectation, or maybe even a full 1 per cent? The markets now expect the peak in its rate to be 4 per cent and already mortgage rates have hit 6 per cent.

The prospect of yet higher interest rates is making the dollar the most attractive currency in the world – or, more accurately, the least unattractive, since the US looks like facing a recession next year and that is troubling the markets. But the country is not going to face energy shortages this winter, as will much of Europe, and it does not have the long-term productivity problems of the UK.

Besides, while both the Bank of England and the European Central Bank seem set to increase interest rates this coming week, the Fed looks like pushing them up by more.

The economists are divided as always between optimists and pessimists, but if the stock markets plunge that shows which side is winning. The bears are running the show now



So it looks very much as though the dollar will keep rising through the winter and a weak pound adds to the problems that the UK's new chancellor, Kwasi Kwarteng, faces with his emergency Budget this Friday. I don't think this government quite realises how hostile the economic environment is towards it.

Insofar as American money managers pay attention to the UK, and that is not much, they are sceptical that the government can pull things around. It can borrow a bit more, which would in normal circumstances support the economy, and there is a strong case for doing this in the light of the surge in energy prices. But if interest rates have to rise even faster and more steeply to protect the pound, then that offsets the fiscal boost.

Think of it this way. More money spent by a family to pay the higher energy bills is money not available to spend on buying other goods and services. So the energy package helps there. But if the net result is more expensive mortgages, then money spent on paying interest on the mortgage puts the family back to square one.

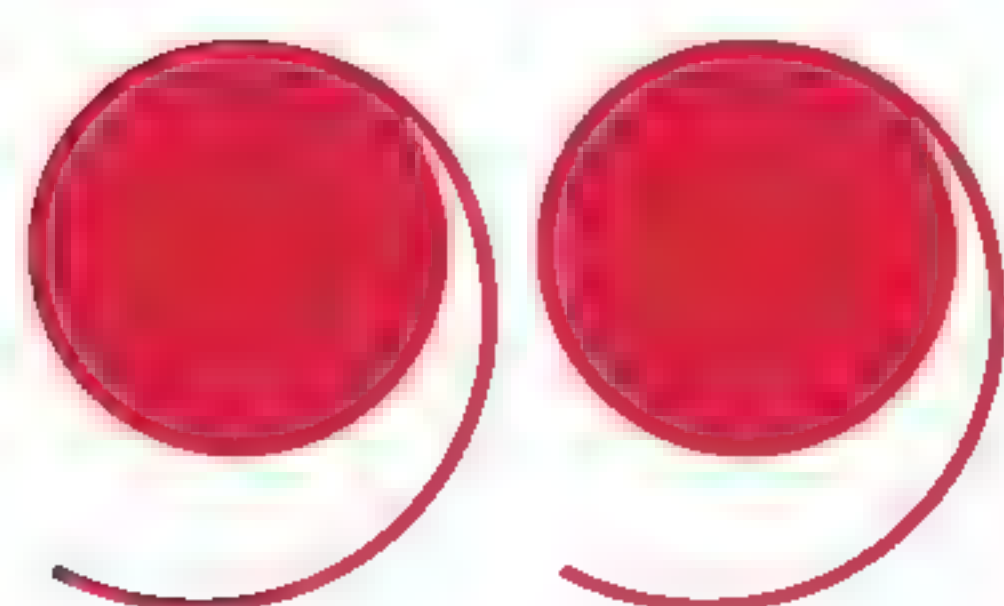
This may be too gloomy. But I have been impressed by the way the weight of the commentary in the US leans towards there being a recession next year. Last week the World Bank here in Washington warned of a global recession because central banks everywhere were increasing rates at the same time. Last week was the worst since June for US shares as measured by both the two most important indexes, the S&P 500 and the Nasdaq. The economists are divided as always between optimists and

pessimists, but if the stock markets plunge that shows which side is winning. The bears are running the show now.

And there is the paradox. The dollar is soaring and share prices are plunging – both driven by expectations of much higher interest rates. Remember the adage “when America sneezes the world catches a cold”?

This prospect of higher interest rates is already leading to snuffles here in the US. When, after the funeral, the world leaders depart from London, the UK will be left facing the prospect of a nasty cold.

So – a strong dollar or a weak pound? The answer is that it is both, and it is this combination that will make life very difficult for the new chancellor on Friday – and, of course, more importantly, for all of us this winter.



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People seem to have become selfish in a post-Covid world



I remember thinking about how terrifying a global pandemic was in March 2020 (AFP/Getty)

DANIELLE JONES



While the pandemic and lockdowns were wholeheartedly hated by the vast majority, I would be the first to admit that there were also

some positive moments that came out of our enforced confinement of 2020 and 2021.

As a self-employed mother with two small children, I felt included in a way that I hadn't in a long time. There were Zoom pub quizzes, online panel discussions, and a whole heap of new WhatsApp group chats that allowed me to get my social fix in those dark days. I felt part of society for the first time in many years. We all agreed that public sector workers and shop staff had a rough deal; we compared sourdough starters, clapped on our doorsteps every Thursday, and started to appreciate the simple pleasures of being healthy, together, and having a new horde of *Monstera* plants to tend to.

No sooner, it seemed, had Covid-19 become less of a "thing", the war in Ukraine broke out. Again, we clubbed together to do our bit. We raided our wardrobes for warm clothes, people travelled to the borders to take what supplies they could, and a great many opened their homes, inviting in refugees in their time of need.

Many of us are still clinging to the last vestiges of those silver linings, but I feel like that camaraderie, that unity, that "in this together" spirit has now faded into a distant memory. Even the sense of "togetherness" seen in the queue to walk past the Queen's coffin as she lies in state, with stories of sandwich-sharing and budding romances, is bittersweet, coloured by a wider sense that dissenting voices are unwelcome. Think of the increase in racist abuse of Black and Asian people on social media, and the heavy-handed policing of protesters who criticise the monarchy.

I really believed that Covid was a turning point. That we would start to care more about each other, take care of our planet, and support each other's mental health and boundaries. But I've noticed that, as we've moved forward, this has started to be replaced with a new sense of selfishness. At first, I thought it was just not being exposed to people for a long time. That people had always been like that, and I'd just forgotten. But as time has worn on, as strangers have cut me up at junctions and the infighting among once-close groups of friends has escalated,

I've realised that we are now in a state of collective social burnout.

That faceless virus, in hindsight, was a more palatable threat. The selfishness of people across the spectrum of class, wealth and social status now feels starker and more visible than ever



As society reopened, we saw stories about what others had been up to while the rest of us were determinedly doing the “right thing”. Partygate, dodgy deals, the admitted sexism of the government’s self-employment support scheme, and, as ever, the small proportion of people profiteering from a crisis. And now the rot has really set in, and we are still frightened – locked in a third year of fight or flight mode. We have replaced one life-threatening event, the pandemic, with another – the terrifying reality of a cost of living crisis.

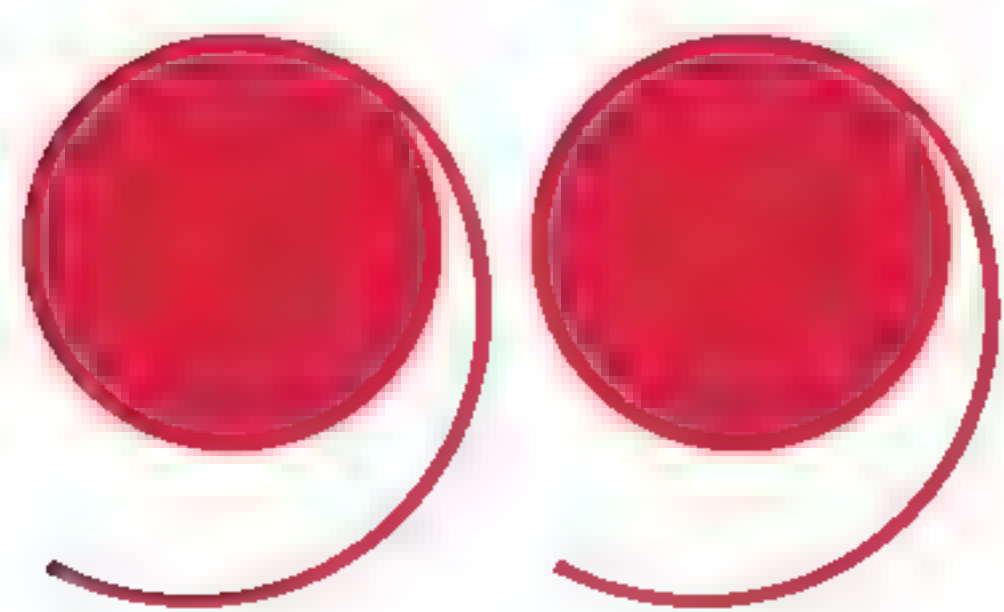
A crisis in which, although we live in one of the richest countries in the world, many of us are now in a position where we don’t know how we’re going to manage. Will we be able to feed our children? Heat our homes? Can we just scrape by? Even with the new prime minister Liz Truss’s plan to cap household energy bills at £2,500, it’s still unclear how the average family – or those who are more vulnerable – will cope.

People are going on strike to argue for a pay increase so that they can just about afford to keep the lights on. People are being forced into debt, are worried about losing their jobs, and are having to take drastic action to try to survive. We’re all tired, and we just want to go back to how things were. We expected Covid to end, and that we – as a society – would continue on our merry way. But there’s no going back.

Like other key events in recent history, including 9/11 and the financial crash of 2008, Covid has left us with a different world. We have to work out if we want to continue to be selfless, to think of others – or join the mob mentality and just look after our own. While many would automatically say the former, hardship and fear may influence us to take a more self-serving route. It's coded into our primal brains to survive, and when it comes to the crunch, the vast majority will save themselves.

Even the Don't Pay movement that is encouraging people to refuse to pay their energy bills has divided us. There are the people who are doing it on principle, the people who are considering it as their only option, and those who are ignoring it because they don't want to damage their credit, as who knows what tomorrow holds.

I remember thinking about how terrifying a global pandemic was in March 2020. This unknown, unseen virus threatened to destroy everything that we held dear. But that faceless virus, in hindsight, was a more palatable threat. The selfishness of people across the spectrum of class, wealth and social status now feels starker and more visible than ever. As a society, we have become more selfish in a post-Covid world, but really, looking at the state of things, who could blame us?



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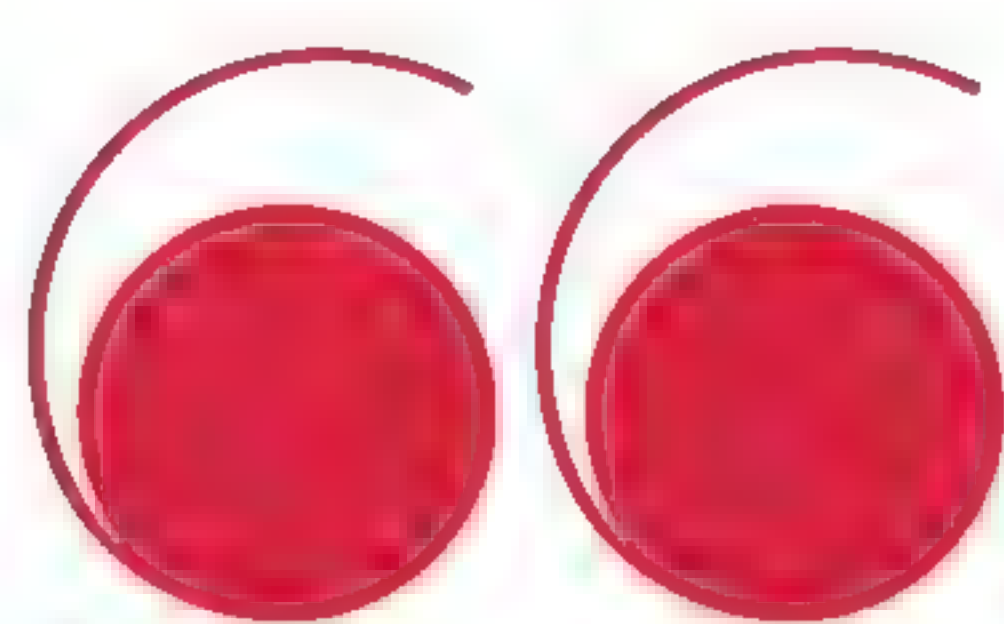


Over 36 years, our approach to the monarchy has evolved

Covering the Queen's death, in news, pictures and comment, is an obligation for a serious media outlet, writes **David Lister**



While we aimed some barbs at the younger royals, *The Independent* was never disrespectful to the Queen (PA)



At the crack of dawn yesterday morning, I stood in Westminster Hall to see the Queen's lying-in-state. That would have seemed a very surreal thought back in 1986 at *The Independent's* launch.

In August of that year, two months before the official launch (and with the Queen less than halfway through her reign), I sat in the home editor's garden, with a few other members of staff, debating our policy on, among other things, how we were to treat the royal family. We decided we would give it far less space than our rivals, and the paper soon gained a reputation for doing exactly that – delighting many readers, and probably puzzling others. Andreas Whittam Smith, the founder editor, said we had “a tinge of republicanism” and that we should “avoid fawning coverage”.

As a founder member of *The Independent*, and still working here, I have seen the policy and our attitude towards the royals “evolve” considerably, and for good reason. One has to remember that back in 1986, the royal family was at peak soap opera (or so we thought), with a penchant for the trivial. The younger royals were soon to appear on BBC1's *It's a Knockout*, and *The Independent* was able to claim some high ground in ignoring the sillier aspects of the royal family then.

Times changed, and Princess Diana's *Panorama* interview and then her tragic death made the royal family a serious subject for a quality paper. The nation was gripped, and hugely affected, and so were we. No longer were royal stories banished to the News in Brief column, which is where the birth of one of Prince Andrew's daughters was placed. We looked at constitutional matters, we looked at their finances, we looked at their lives. Yes, we argued that the family should be slimmed down, but that is a view that the new King Charles and the new Prince of Wales have both latterly held.

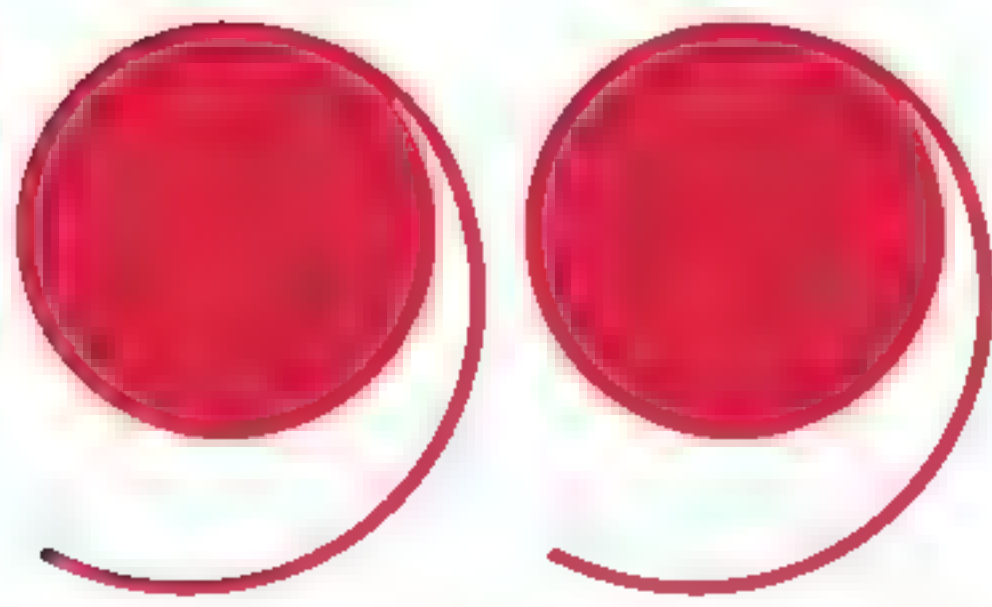
And while we aimed some barbs at the younger royals, *The Independent* was never disrespectful to the Queen. As the print edition ended and our online offering became a global media force, we attracted large numbers of readers in the US. Their interest in the royal family was arguably just as intense as that of our UK audience, and this provoked further enhancement of our coverage, with events such as the weddings of Prince William to Catherine and Prince Harry to Meghan being fully and instantly reported.

And now, of course, it would be both impossible and wrong to ignore a nation in mourning and the astonishing 70-year reign of the Queen. The pageant, the spectacle and the grief at a monarch's passing are different and distinct aspects of Britain. Covering these events, in news, pictures and comment, is not just a duty for a serious media outlet, it is also a responsibility – a responsibility to understand and explain the state of the nation.

Yours,

David Lister

Weekend editor of *The Independent's* Daily Edition, and founder member of *The Independent*



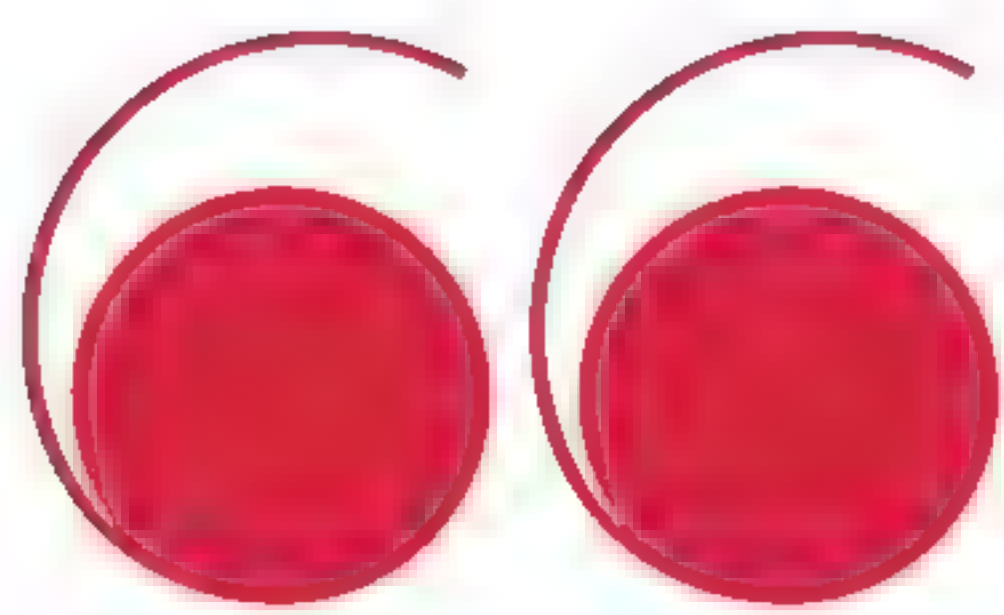
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Keeping the royal family is the least unpleasant option



I have some sympathy with those demonstrating against the monarchy, though I think their protests just now are somewhat tasteless and more likely to provoke opposition than garner support.

There's an injustice in inheritance, whether it be of wealth or power. A society that condones hereditary privilege is at risk of tolerating hereditary deprivation. But in the case of royalty, there's also an injustice to the recipient – they might not have chosen that life.

But what is the alternative? A major disadvantage of having an elected politician as president is that the incumbent could be a self-obsessed power seeker. (Recent international examples are available!) Ideally, I would like to see someone of the stature of, say, David Attenborough or Mary Beard doing the job for a period of five or 10 years.

The difficulty lies in finding a way to appoint them that would be seen to be democratic. So in the meantime, I have to reluctantly concede that continuation of the monarchy may be our least bad option. Long live the King!

Susan Alexander *South Gloucestershire*

Bank holiday closures for the Queen's funeral

I'm neither an ardent royalist nor desperate for our country to become a republic. Just an ordinary Brit who wholeheartedly agrees with Nadeine Asbali's article (Voices, Thursday).

I look forward to normal life returning very soon.

Joan Cooper *Abingdon*

Mass grief hysteria

A hearty well done to James Moore for his piece on the absurdity of the mass grief hysteria gripping the country (Why I'll be staging a one-man bank holiday protest, Voices, yesterday). I had thought we were alone in refusing to take part in this well-choreographed, and seemingly compulsory, national grief event.

I expect next week to see John Rentoul's list of the top 10 most idiotic ways of respecting the Queen, starting with Morrison's decision to tone down the volume of checkout pings. Followed by a commercial radio station's ban on playing any song by Queen.

G Forward *Stirling*

Evading scrutiny

In the coming week, the chancellor of the Exchequer, Kwasi Kwarteng, will present a mini-Budget that the government is calling a "fiscal event". This put me in mind of Russia's invasion of Ukraine, which President Putin insists is called a "special military operation", not an invasion or war.

More worryingly, as supposedly it's not a mini-Budget, it will not be examined by the Office for Budget Responsibility.

Meanwhile, the moratorium on fracking is being lifted (News, Saturday) and objections from communities affected by it will be overruled. This looks very much to me like government by diktat, evading scrutiny, checks and balances and being held to account.

We live in desperately worrying times, with democracy in danger.

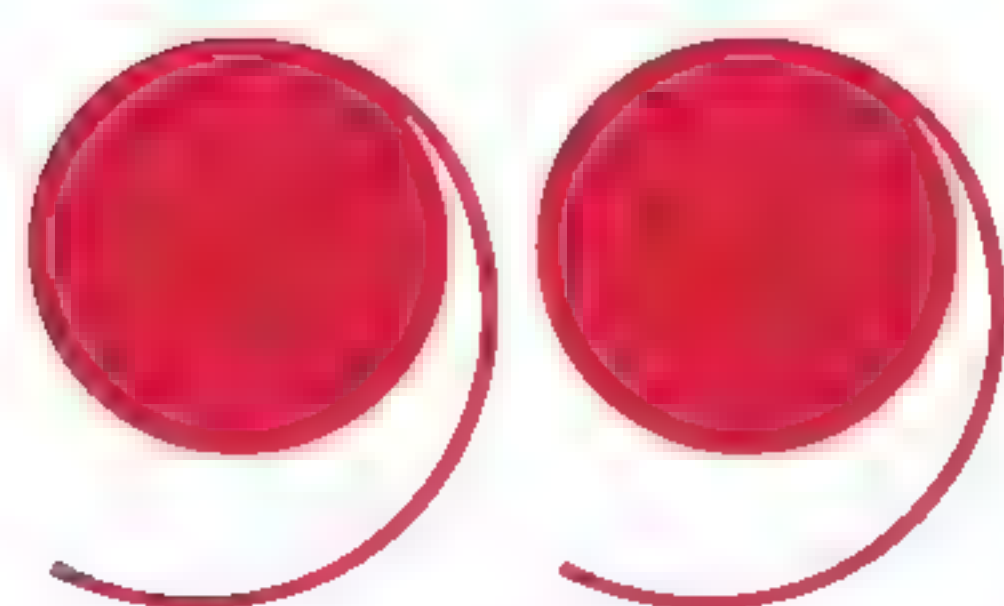
Philip Nalpanis *St Albans*

Nothing lasts forever

Ed Dorrell (Voices, Friday) and Judith Daniel write of our country being on the brink. I'd agree – but on the brink of what?

The most important thing I've learnt from history is that nothing – nothing – is forever. Boris Johnson's gone. Trump's gone. Something we can't imagine will turn up next.

Mark Ogilvie *Horncastle*



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Section 2/ The Big Read



‘We’re 125 years late’

As some museums finally begin to return stolen artefacts such as the Benin Bronzes, **Rory Sullivan** explores why it’s taken so long and why Britain lags behind other nations



The bronze Oba head was returned to Nigerian authorities last October (AFP/Getty)

The repatriation process began with the return of a bronze cockerel and a bronze Oba head.

While Nigeria had long sought redress for the stolen Benin Bronzes housed in British institutions, Lagos still had nothing to

show for its efforts by late last year. That was until the University of Aberdeen and Cambridge University's Jesus College transferred ownership of an item apiece to the Nigerian authorities last October.

The artefacts had both been looted during Britain's punitive military expedition against the Kingdom of Benin in 1897, which destroyed many lives and pillaged many cultural treasures.

Some 125 years later, the UK lags behind other European countries in its commitment to restitution. French president, Emmanuel Macron, for example, said in November 2017 that he wanted to see African heritage, sent back from Paris, "in Dakar, in Lagos, in Cotonou", but British leaders have not been as forthcoming.

Nevertheless, support for repatriation appears to be gaining momentum in Britain too. Less than a year after the Aberdeen and Cambridge handovers, the Horniman Museum became the first government-funded museum in the UK to announce it would be restoring dozens of objects to Nigeria.

In early August, Eve Salomon, the chair of the museum's trustees, explained why the board's decision was unanimous. "The evidence is very clear that these objects were acquired through force, and external consultation supported our view that it is both moral and appropriate to return their ownership to Nigeria," she said in a statement.



“We hope the decision will give charity boards the confidence to discuss repatriation requests and to understand that there is a route to take these decisions in compliance with charity law duties,” says Erica Crump, a partner at Bates Wells, the law firm that advised the Horniman on the issue.

As well as seeking permission from the Charity Commission, museums like the Horniman are also expected to approach the Department for Digital, Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS) for guidance.

“That DCMS was consulted and supportive of the Horniman’s decision may represent something of a mood change,” says Crump.

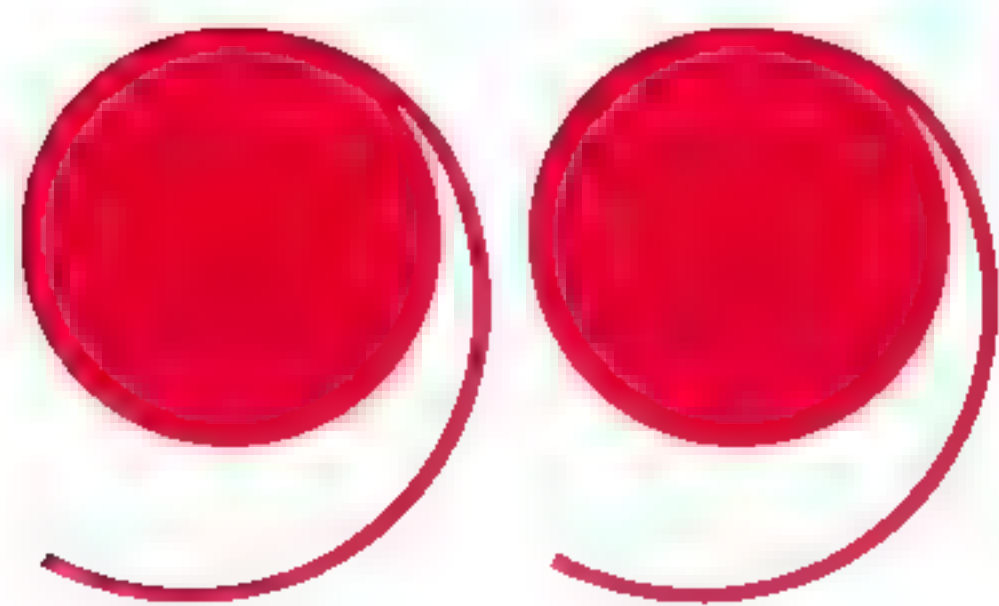
Bankole Sodipo, a Nigerian professor and intellectual property lawyer who had a hand in the Aberdeen and Cambridge returns, thinks a watershed moment has been reached in Britain, which will put more pressure on holdouts like the British Museum. “I’m happy about what’s happening now. People are saying, ‘it’s time, it’s time,’” he tells me.

The academic was approached by Aberdeen to offer pro-bono support in returning its Benin Bronze. He succeeded in bringing together the relevant Nigerian stakeholders and in streamlining the process. The Oba’s Palace (the Oba is the traditional ruler of the Edo people in the kingdom of Benin, and the original owner of the bronzes), the local state of Edo and the federal government were all involved in the talks.

Sodipo was later asked by Jesus College, Cambridge, to perform the same task for the bronze cockerel that had perched for decades in its dining hall.



It will be interesting to see the impact of the Horniman, Aberdeen and Cambridge's decisions, and whether it expands beyond the Benin Bronzes



His role in both cases was in keeping with his first name, which means “helping to build a house”, Sodipo explains. Extending the metaphor, he acknowledges that the Aberdeen and Cambridge victories were just the start of the job.

“It makes me feel good, but I know it’s just the beginning,” he says. “There’s more work to be done. Those properties are worth much more than anyone could imagine.” The Benin Bronzes were central to the ritual and religious practices of the kingdom’s royal family.

In February, Neil Curtis, head of museums at the University of Aberdeen, watched a video showing the bronze head of an Oba lifted out of a box in Edo state. It had taken four months for the shipment to receive the necessary export permissions and to reach Nigeria.

“It was wonderful,” says Curtis. “It was really moving just to see it back home. Seeing it being placed face-to-face with the Oba in the Royal Palace was tremendous.”

His university had previous experience of repatriating objects in its collection, including giving a ceremonial headdress back to the Kainai, a First Nations tribe in Canada, in 2003.

However, the difference this time around was that the university initiated the return, rather than being contacted by a claimant.

Curtis was at pains to stress that museums have a moral duty to repatriate looted objects like Benin Bronzes. He also encouraged other institutions to be proactive and to start a dialogue with affected communities overseas.



Ewuare II, known as the Oba of Benin (centre), reacts after receiving the repatriated artefacts (AFP/Getty)

But the museum curator believes Aberdeen should not take credit for its actions. “People say, ‘oh, you were first [to return a Benin Bronze]’. Well, we’re 125 years late,” he says. “It’s a very strange race, so I don’t think we should be boasting about that.”

However, Curtis hopes other collections can learn from the steps his university took. “I’d like to think we acted as sort of a catalyst by helping to establish a consensual pathway which could be used by other museums.”

Although he does not give an exact timeframe, Curtis says repatriation will become normalised in the near future. “Partly it’s going to become business as usual,” he tells me. “That this is something that museums do: returning things they shouldn’t have, working with people to figure out what best to do with collections.”

Over in Cambridge, Véronique Mottier, a human, social and political sciences lecturer at Jesus College, is of the same opinion. “The tide is turning,” she says. “The world is changing. We’re thinking differently about our relationship to the past.”

Mottier chaired the Legacy of Slavery Working Party (LSWP), an inquiry set up by her college in 2019 into its links to colonial history. This came several years after its student body had passed a motion to return the bronze cockerel in its possession to Nigeria.



It has taken 125 years to return the bronze Oba bust (AFP/Getty)

One of the LSWP's first tasks was to examine what should be done with the artefact. "Once we had the historical information, the case was crystal clear. Within the fellowship too, it was a widely supported decision," Mottier says.

Although the object was definitely looted, its seizure was not illegal under the racist laws governing the British military in 1897, which consisted of one set of rules for wars against other western powers and another for the rest of the world, according to Mottier.

This obstacle was easily overcome. "Our argument was that what's legal is not always what's moral," says Mottier. "And that in this day and age, it would be morally indefensible to defend this kind of argument."

At a speech at the returning ceremony on 27 October last year, Mottier apologised to the Nigerian delegation for depriving their country of the object for so long.

“Our feeling was that restitution itself was not enough. There also needs to be an acknowledgement and there needs to be an apology,” she says, adding that she found the occasion very moving but also felt mixed emotions. “On the one hand, we were all thrilled that the Benin Bronze was finally returning home. We were very proud that Jesus College was the first institution in the world to return a Benin Bronze. There was a feeling we were starting something, hopefully.



The Horniman has agreed to return ownership of looted artefacts to Nigeria, such as this cockerel (PA)

“But we were also painfully aware that we had deprived its rightful owners of this object for so long. Listening to our guests speak of how they were deprived of their ancestral heritage was very painful. It brought home how important this moment was.”

Abba Tijani, the head of Nigeria’s National Commission for Museums and Monuments (NCMM), was at both the Aberdeen and Cambridge ceremonies, along with delegates from Edo State and the Oba’s Palace.

He says the occasions were full of “great joy and excitement and emotional feelings”.

“These are objects that were stolen in 1897,” he tells me. “And Nigeria was taking possession of these artefacts for the first time after 125 years.”

Tijani says many countries have come to realise that holding onto stolen objects – something he termed “continuous

colonisation” – is no longer viable.

Referring to the decisions taken by Aberdeen, Cambridge and the Horniman, he adds: “I believe this will set the pace – that other museums in the UK will follow suit.”



Berlin's Humboldt Forum has agreed to return hundreds of artefacts, but will keep some on loan (AFP/Getty)

The NCMM boss says museums which are in possession of Benin Bronzes will not be emptied out if they agree to withdraw ownership over them. “We will give some of these items on loan,” he says. “Some of the objects will remain on display, which means they are not going to miss anything.”

As an example, he cites Germany's Humboldt Forum in Berlin, which has agreed to return hundreds of artefacts to Nigeria. In a sign of collaboration, Lagos will allow the institution to keep some of the bronzes on loan.

Tijani says further agreements will soon be reached with museums in cities including Cologne, Leibnitz and Stuttgart. When this happens, Benin Bronzes from a range of German collections will be sent back en masse to West Africa, he says.

The question of where they will be housed in Nigeria has not been fully settled. Sodipo, the Nigerian lawyer who was instrumental to the Aberdeen and Cambridge returns, says the Oba's Palace, Edo State and Lagos should resolve this matter quickly.

“We need to build modern museums to house the Benin Bronzes and other cultural properties wrongfully taken from Nigeria,” he says.

Tijani tells me that such matters are heading in the correct direction. He notes that some objects would be displayed at the existing Benin City National Museum, while others would end up in a new museum on land owned by the Oba’s Palace.



This fan is part of the Horniman collection which will be returned (PA)

An agreement has yet to be reached on the latter institution, but one idea is to repurpose an existing building, the NCMM leader says. If this goes ahead, it could be operational by as early as next year.

Regardless of their final destination, the quest to repatriate the Benin Bronzes has made remarkable progress over the last few years. This poses the question of why conditions are right for their return now but weren’t earlier.

Alexander Herman, an expert in repatriation matters who works as the director of the Institute of Art and Law (IAL), says the answer is multi-faceted.

The author of *Restitution: The Return of Cultural Artefacts* thinks that the “sea change” in museum attitudes to Nazi loot over the past 25 years has contributed. Institutions are now generally much more concerned with the provenance of their items as a result, according to Herman.

The successful campaigns of Indigenous groups to reclaim their heritage have also been vital, as has the tougher attitude taken by law enforcement to stolen artefacts, he says. Only last week, the New York district attorney ordered that £16m of looted objects must be returned to Italy.

Herman adds that the pandemic also performed a role. Given growing digitalisation, people's perceptions about museums have changed, leading them to see that they serve "purposes other than retaining objects."



A pectoral mask once looted from Benin City by British troops (PA)

The death of George Floyd and the rise in prominence of the Black Lives Matter movement were also pivotal, as they have put a spotlight on Africa and racial injustice, Herman says.

Asked whether we should expect a flood of new restitution cases, the IAL director tells me: "I can't predict whether there will be lots of claims in the next few years. It will be interesting to see the impact of the Horniman, Aberdeen and Cambridge's decisions, and whether it expands beyond the Benin Bronzes. Because right now it is just focused on them."

The argument for the restoration of the Benin Bronzes is perhaps more clear-cut than that of some other objects in western collections. As Herman explains, violent episodes lend themselves more easily to restitution.

“It’s a lot more complicated when you’re dealing with transactions that occurred in the past,” he says. “When something was at least ostensibly purchased, exchanged or negotiated among relative equals. That’s where you have more difficult cases.”

For now, at least, it’s Nigeria and the Benin Bronzes in the spotlight. But Tijani, the director of the NCMM, thinks the movement will soon grow. “I think Nigeria is taking the lead at the moment,” he says. “We have made headway. I believe many other countries will also come onboard.”

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Section 2/ Ask Simon Calder



When will Chile's strict Covid rules be removed?



The nation is still imposing tough laws – but hopefully not for much longer (Getty/iStock)

Q Our Chile trip was postponed due to Covid. You still face testing on arrival in the country and, consequently, it is still too risky. When do you see this changing?

“Coopon”

A Your question takes me back to before Christmas 2020, when – for a few fleeting days – I considered booking a southern hemisphere break to Santiago de Chile with some exploration beyond the capital.

As things turned out it would have been as completely impractical as, say, a trip to Australia. But unlike that southern hemisphere nation, Chile is still imposing some tough rules. The Foreign Office says: “Upon arrival, you should follow the instructions of airport authorities regarding testing requirements. You might need to undergo an antigen or PCR test, either in the airport or at an external laboratory outside the airport.

“If you undergo an antigen test, you will need to wait for the results in the airport. If the result is positive, non-resident foreigners will be denied entry into the country.”

Prospective visitors are, understandably, highly concerned by this. Someone who unknowingly becomes Covid positive, then touches down in Chile and is selected for an antigen (lateral flow) test could find themselves in a dreadful no-man’s-land – not allowed to be admitted into Chile, but not able to fly out while infectious.

Clearly you can try to minimise the risk by taking a Covid test before you board the plane, but you cannot eliminate the possibility entirely.

The one circumstance in which you can go to Chile confident of avoiding an unpleasant surprise is if you tested positive for Covid with a PCR test between 10 days and one month before boarding a flight to Chile; and in the 72 hours before your flight, also had another positive PCR test. That would be a challenge for most prospective visitors. However, things are pointing in the right direction. This weekend, the Netherlands abolished all its restrictions, and there are reports that Hong Kong may remove mandatory hotel quarantine. Meanwhile, summer is on the way in the southern hemisphere, making it more likely that rules will be eased by the government in Santiago.

Email your question to s@hols.tv or tweet @simoncalder

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Section 2



ON THIS DAY



Comedy classic 'Fawlty Towers' was first broadcast by the BBC on this day in 1975 (PA)

1356: The English, led by Edward, the Black Prince, defeated the French at the Battle of Poitiers in the Hundred Years' War.

1839: George Cadbury was born in Birmingham. He expanded his father's chocolate business and established a model village for his workers at Bourneville.

1876: The first carpet-sweeper was patented by Melville Bissell of Grand Rapids in Michigan.

1881: James Abram Garfield, 20th US president, died of wounds suffered when he was shot in July.

1888: The world's first beauty contest took place in Spa, Belgium.

1928: The first cartoon talking picture, Walt Disney's *Steamboat Willie*, featuring Mickey Mouse, was shown in New York.

1945: Wartime traitor William Joyce – Lord Haw-Haw – was sentenced to be hanged after his trial at the Old Bailey.

1960: Chubby Checker's "The Twist", a cover of an original Hank Ballard song, entered the US charts and launched a dance craze.

1975: The first episode of *Fawlty Towers* was broadcast by the BBC.

1985: More than 20,000 people died when an earthquake devastated large areas Of Mexico City.

On this day last year: The countdown was on for a one-off autumn version of the famous Chelsea Flower Show after the usual May event was delayed due to the pandemic.

Birthdays

David McCallum, actor, 89; **Zandra Rhodes**, fashion designer, 82; **Kate Adie**, TV reporter, 77; **Jeremy Irons**, actor, 74; **Twiggy** (Lesley Hornby), model/actor, 73; **Daniel Lanois**, singer and music producer, 71; **Nile Rodgers**, music producer, 70.

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Section 2/ IndyBest

BRIGHT IDEA

Laura Cunningham on the most stylish white trousers



No matter your age, occupation or style, white trousers are a classic wardrobe staple for a huge number of us, and they're not just for summer. Whether worn with sandals on holiday, with a shirt in the office or with boots and a heavy knit to battle the winter weather, they're a year-round staple that's hard to beat. And they make a nice change from our failsafe fallback, jeans.

But, unlike your best blue denim, white trousers can be a little bit trickier to hunt down, with fabric type, weight and density all playing a key part in making them wearable – as none of us wants to have VPL, or worse, when out and about.

Add to that the ever-growing number of cuts, colours – yes, there are countless shades all classified as white – and costs, and it can feel a bit like an impossible task to find the perfect pair. Luckily our tester has scoured the high street from Allsaints to Very, M&S to Me&Em to make the hunt just that little bit easier.

Our tester is also a stylist and has worked on the wardrobe teams of the UK's favourite celebrities, so trust us when we say you're in good hands. We were able to unbiasedly rate whether or not they were see-through, the size and fit, and the value for money. But do remember, as with anything, picking your favourite pair will come down to personal preference.

And with everyone having a different sense of style, there's no one and only champion here that will be best for everyone. So look to each style category for your favourite.

How we tested

Taking a huge number of white trousers into our wardrobe we incorporated them into everyday outfits, wearing each one as we best saw fit – either to work, out for dinner or to the supermarket – comfort, wearability and all of the points we already mentioned were on the tick-list for scoring.

For reference, our tester is a UK size eight, and 5ft3, so the length will be noted on each pair as to whether they come up long or short for that height. Keep reading below to see how they got on.



Leem front pleats relaxed trouser: £75, Next

You may not have heard of Leem before, but the brand specialises in modest dressing with a modern touch, and although it was a close call, these white trousers just made it to the top spot. In a wide-leg relaxed cut with a high waist and pleated front detail, they are incredibly flattering and can work for any occasion from the boardroom to brunch.

Pair with a simple T-shirt and boots as pictured, a shirt and heels or even flip-flops for a beach-ready style, as these are a great all-rounder whatever the weather. Shorter folks, you will need to get them taken up, yet longer-legged ladies are in luck.

Sleek and sophisticated, we fell in love with the subtle design details. Front pockets add to the wearability, and, the only downside is that you will most likely need to wear white or nude underwear as although they aren't see-through, they aren't fully opaque in harsh light. But, we still found them to be the perfect pair for all occasions and quite comfortable too.

Buy now



M&S cotton rich tapered chinos: £25, M&S

The first thing to note about these trousers from looking at the photo is that we left the tag on, there is no strange navy square hanging off the waistband, we promise. Coming in three lengths – short, regular and long – our 5ft3in tester opted for regular which was actually the perfect length just skimming the ankle, so do bear this in mind when selecting your size.

In a tapered leg fit, these chinos are classic in cut and incredibly flattering, while front pockets and phantom back pockets add a nice bit of detail to the design. Incredibly lightweight, they are perfect for summer but were certainly on the see-through side, so be sure to opt for a nude thong or tuck a longer top inside to help keep your modesty. Pair with a simple vest and clogs as pictured, or a brightly coloured shirt for a more formal finish.

Buy now



**Asos Design mix & match slim straight suit trousers in ivory:
£19, Asos**

Asos is known for its budget-friendly buys, and this pair of trousers is no exception. But, we must stress you will probably want to wear it as a full suit with the matching blazer (£36, [Asos](#)) or similar on top as otherwise, you will be bearing your bum no matter what underwear you wear. With this in mind, these trousers can work in your wardrobe, you just have to be a bit clever when it comes to styling.

They aren't quite as white as they appear online, with a more creamy colour coming through, but this did work quite nicely with the tortoiseshell front button. A central seam gives them a more formal look, and the length actually worked quite well on our tester too. Large front pockets add to the wearability and the straight leg cut gave them a loose-fitting look that's on trend at the moment. We would recommend pairing them with a long blazer, jacket or jumper to help conceal your modesty while keeping the cool cut of the trouser.

[Buy now](#)



People Tree Alexis tapered trousers in natural: £95, People Tree

Known for its sustainability credentials, People Tree is a great option for anyone looking to create a more environmentally friendly wardrobe. But, these aren't the brightest of white we've seen so far, looking much more like a cream in real life because they are made from undyed twill fabric. Coming up slightly large, we would suggest wearing them with a belt, but the Eighties high-waisted baggy fit is rather flattering if you like the oversized look.

Made from 100 per cent organic cotton, they are quite rigid with no stretch, but this is said to soften with time and wear. Even the thread is made from fully recycled materials, adding to the sustainable element while also being tough and durable. Pair with a simple tee and a clog as shown, or dress them up with a shirt and boots as this pair is a great everyday option for when out and about. While two deep front and back pockets add to its wearability for daily errands and there's no worry of bearing your bum as they are incredibly thick.

Buy now



River Island cream wide leg trousers: £45, River Island

While we loved these white trousers, they did come up incredibly large, meaning we would recommend sizing down if these are the ones that have piqued your fancy. In a denim style fabric, they are quite soft, and the wide-leg fit is right on trend for the new oversized look.

Slightly on the longer side for our tester, anyone this height or below will most likely need them taken up, but that's good news for our taller readers as you have little worry about your ankles being on show. Deep front and back pockets add to the wearability while belt loops allow you to cinch in the waist should you want to add an extra styling detail, or help keep them up. Light brown stitching adds a nice design touch, and we would suggest working with this to create a more tonal look as pictured.

Buy now



Me+Em textured slim crop trouser: £175, Me+Em

Me+Em is a regular go to for work wear, perfectly walking the line between fashionable and functional and these trousers are no different. In a heavy textured weave fabric, there's more going on than just your regular white trouser, and it makes them easily wearable for all weather throughout the year.

With two phantom front and back pockets, you won't be able to store anything in them, but it adds another element of interest to the design, along with a side seam of a thinner fabric. When it comes to the see-through test, we were pretty impressed but would always recommend white or skin tone underwear just in case you walk into strong light.

We've dubbed them as the best trouser for work thanks to the summer tux-tailored cut, with a strong central seam, slim fit leg and slightly cropped length. You can pair these with anything from a simple black tee and clogs as shown, or a shirt and court shoes for more formal office attire.

Buy now

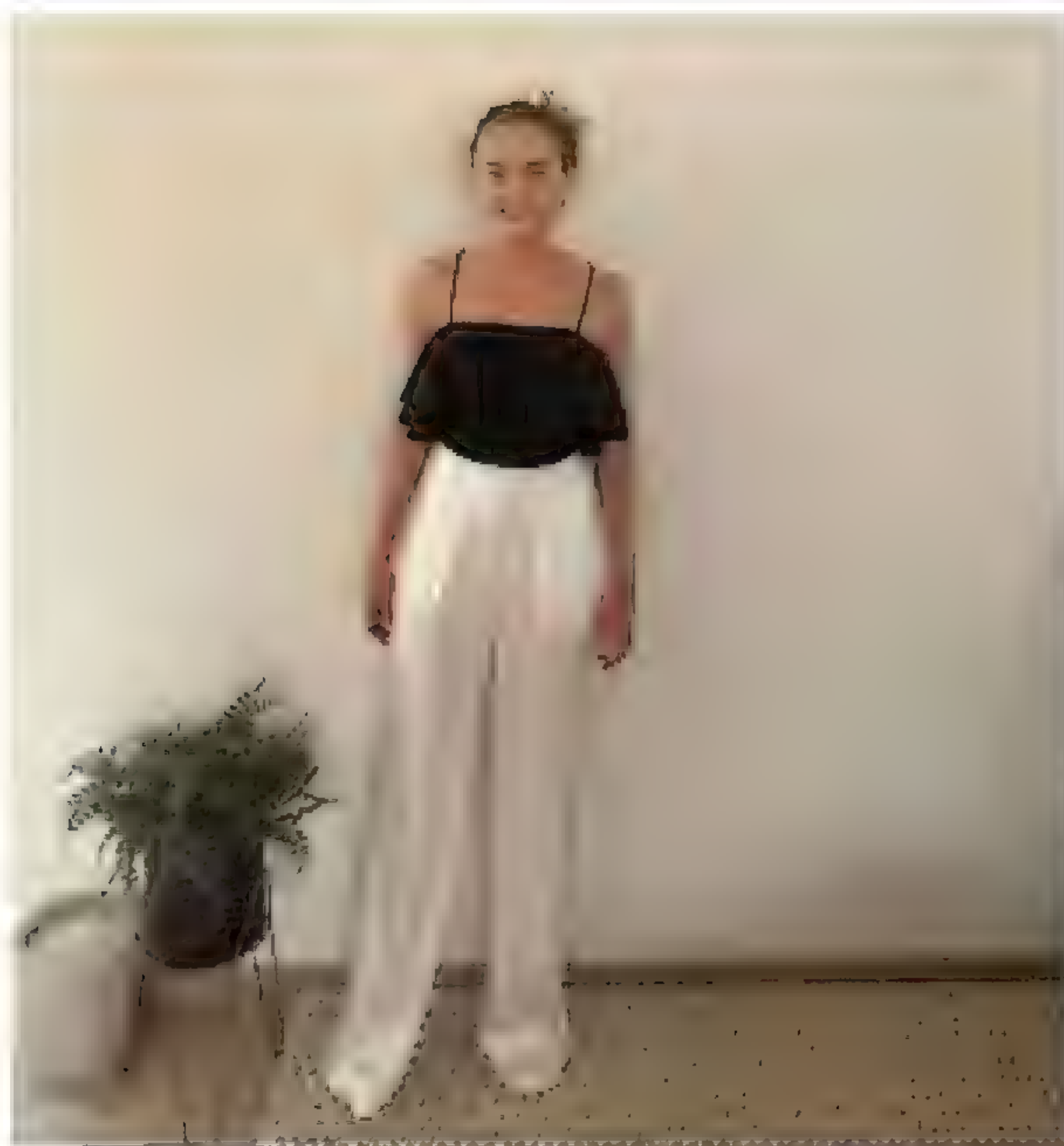


Oasis seam front cuffed jogger: £32, Oasis

Not exactly white, but classed as ecru – a slightly off-white, cream tone – these joggers are incredibly comfy for everyday wear when getting through the to-do list. With an elasticated waistband and ankle cuffs, there are no zips or buttons to worry about, and they hold on to the body incredibly well. While a softly brushed inner makes them cosy and warm for the cooler weather too.

Two hidden side pockets add a nice touch for wearability. A central seam on both legs adds an extra layer of detailing and they can be worn with anything from flip-flops and a vest in summer to biker boots and a thick jumper in winter, making them a great year-round staple.

Buy now



**Club L London no limits ivory satin wide leg trousers: £55,
Club L London**

In a shiny satin-like fabric, these Club L London trousers are great for any special dinners, parties or nights out, but we would say you need to be a little bit careful as they are easy to snag. Slightly on the long side for our tester, anyone short will need to wear these with heels or get them taken up if they don't want to be tripping over all night.

With a hidden closure, the waistband is sleek and subtle, but the inclusion of belt loops does mean they can be cinched in further at the waist if needed. The wide leg cut is flattering on all body types too. Although not incredibly see-through, we would encourage white or nude underwear yet again with these as they aren't made from the thickest of fabrics, which you can see from the image as the pocket lining is slightly visible. Pair with a statement top and heels as pictured, or a simple shirt for a more pared-back style.

Buy now



Intimissimi trousers with pockets: £19.50, Intimissimi

With many of us still WFH or in a hybrid of in the office and online, comfort is key. But, where you may not be able to wear the Oasis joggers (£10, [Oasis](#)) into a workplace – depending on where you work, of course – you can probably get away with these. Just as comfy as any other joggers with an elasticated waistband and soft material, these Intimissimi trousers still fit the formal wear brief thanks to the cut, colour and style.

Whether paired with a shirt and heels or trainers and a T-shirt, they're a great all-rounder and there are no tricky buttons or zips to rub or dig into the skin. But, and this is a rather big one, they are on the more see-through side of the scale, so you may want to add a long top underneath or a jumper or blazer over the top.

[Buy now](#)



Warehouse sequin wide leg trousers: £76, Warehouse

Of course, you could wear these trousers every day, but we're going to presume most people would save them for parties, special occasions and going "out-out" – for which they are just perfect. Fun yet sophisticated, they work all year round no matter the weather and can be dressed up or down whether paired with a simple vest as pictured or heels and the matching blazer (£83.40, [Warehouse](#)) for a more full-on look.

They were surprisingly comfortable, with a high waist cut that fell quite nicely on the body and the wide leg trouser style helped to elongate the legs. Although they were a little on the long side for our tester, so anyone on the shorter side will need to wear heels or look for a good tailor.

These trousers are also fully lined, so there's no scratchiness on the inside, but again we would recommend white or skin tone underwear to be safe. Our worry is that the sequins may rub off on the inner thigh over time, but if kept for special occasions, this shouldn't be too much of an issue. We will certainly be wearing these again for any Christmas parties.

[Buy now](#)

The verdict

As we've already stressed, there's no one universal winner that will work for everyone's style, but we hope to have found at least one pair that you each will like. Whether looking for a formal office trouser, a casual jogger or something for a fancier affair, there's quite the range of styles included.

The most versatile of the lot was the **Leem front pleats relaxed trouser**, named our best buy for that very reason. For more formal styles the **M&S cotton rich tapered chinos**, **Me+Em textured slim crop trouser** and **Intimissimi trousers with pockets** are where you want to look.

For more of a statement style, the **V by Very 90s cargo trousers** and **Warehouse sequin wide leg trousers** work for two completely different occasions.

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Section 2/ Lifestyle

Barbie babes and bling bling

Empowerment and glamour epitomise day four of London Fashion Week, report **Olivia Petter** and **Joseph Bobowicz**



Nensi Dojaka's collection gives an 'an exquisite ode to the female body' (Dave Benett/Getty)

Delivering your collection on the penultimate day of royal mourning is a tough gig. In this instance, reading the room means judging the mood of both the fashion pack and some 68 million Brits. Fortunately, day four of London Fashion Week hit the right note.

Rising star Nensi Dojaka confronted the challenge with tact and integrity to her own label's characteristically sensual USP, while ritzy king David Koma paid his respects with a silence before unleashing the flashiest fare you can imagine. Fair enough. Her Majesty was always partial to a touch of bling, and would hardly have discouraged an institution she so ardently supported.

Indeed, Halpern put paid to the power of optimism in light of loss with paillette gowns and rouching galore. Sure, the looks would make dubious mourning attire today, but they are, nonetheless, a testament to the defiant composure that defined Queen Elizabeth in the face of adversity, and more broadly, her Great British public.

While the collections that preceded day four were marked by their sheer variety – ranging from a sober farewell at Daniel W Fletcher to a flurry of ebullience at Molly Goddard – yesterday felt unanimously emotional, albeit positive.

Closing with the city's darling designer Christopher Kane, it was a mixed bag that both celebrated London's creative effervescence and remained duly mindful of the context. Striking this balance through empowerment, glamour and brilliance, the collections put the women in womenswear in an unequivocally femme offering that juxtaposed the androgyny and co-ed casting prevalent in Saturday's collections from SS Daley, Eudon Choi and JW Anderson.

Kicking off the proceedings, Albanian-born Nensi Dojaka gave an exquisite ode to the female body, drawing every editor and influencer worth their Tik-Tok or Instagram following to the strip-lit pews of a north London photography studio. Here, they were greeted with white confetti and hydrangeas for each guest, a pure detail that brought home today's significance.



Nensi Dojaka (Dave Benett/Getty Images)

“The flower was quite literal,” she explained backstage. “But it was also in the drapes.” Indeed, the floral motif was felt in sprawling trains and broaches that anchored criss-cross spaghetti straps. Fluttering trousers that softened into sheath, contoured bodysuits with O-ring hardware and lurex garters cut with angular relief all spoke to a woman at home in her body.

These were clothes to strike a pose in a la Grace Jones. Not surprising, then, that imagemaker Jean-Paul Goode was the starting reference for Dojaka. Assured, the Dojaka girl, it seems, is happy to flash skin but only on her own terms. Erogenous zones, these are not.

Rather, this was Dojaka proving that what you don’t show counts as much as what you do. Her third time showing on the official fashion week schedule, the smattering of shoes, the now-signature deployment of intricate lingerie design, and the introduction of denim and footwear, has officially cemented her status as a London fixture. Dojaka has found her feet. Her go-to shoe? Crystal-embellished kitten heels guaranteed to slay.

Next, the fashion pack jostled into the white-bricked walls of Yeomanry House in central London for 16Arlington. Evidently, the weekend fatigue was starting to settle in, with guests clutching their takeaway coffees on the FROW, and keeping their sunglasses firmly on.



16Arlington (Chris Yates/ Chris Yates Media)

It marked the brand's second show since the devastatingly sudden loss of Federica "Kikka" Cavenati, who co-founded the brand with her partner, Marco Capaldo, in 2017. Titled "Forget Me Not", the collection was inspired by the wildflower known for representing eternal love, devotion and remembrance. It was a joyous celebration, though, featuring many of 16Arlington's signature tropes: sparkles, sequins, faux fur.

The brand is famed for its going out-out aesthetic – and the spring/summer 2023 collection is an appropriate contribution that will turn plenty of heads on London's dimly lit streets next year. Hemlines were as micro as ever; crystal studs covered strapless dresses, mini skirts, and tailored overcoats. Leathers

were stiff, satins glossier than ever. Gorgeous maribou coats came in full-length with power shoulders.

There were python prints aplenty, too, with white and grey variations on suits and maxi skirts with thigh-high slits. There was something satisfyingly Nineties about low-rise silk skirts styled with sleeveless tank tops – a party look for the nostalgic cool girl, perhaps.

All in all, the collection was a thrilling tribute to party women everywhere. It was, as the show notes put it, “clothing for unforgettable women”. But one woman in particular, of course, was on everyone’s minds more than most.

Then it was onto Rejina Pyo. Set on the 28th floor of an office building behind Bloomsbury with floor-to-ceiling windows, the collection was surrounded by London’s skyline. An apt choice, as it so happens, given that the collection was a celebration of women “and what it means to love and work”, the show notes stated.



Rejina Pyo (Ben Broomfield @photobenphoto)

And there were many women who do just that sitting on the front row, including Sharon Horgan, Imogen Poots, and Jessie Ware. They were all clad in Pyo’s delicious designs, with Horgan wearing a particularly striking blue trouser suit as she fanned herself with the show notes – those windows made the venue feel a little like a greenhouse.

The business theme could be felt throughout the collection, with plenty of oversized *Working Girl*-style tailoring, and a largely corporate palette comprising beiges, dark greys, sage greens, lemons, taupes, and creams. Pops of colour came by way of a cobalt blue wide-legged suit and a backless fuchsia slip dress – a day-to-night option, perhaps.

Button-up tops were revamped in sheer fabrics, while delicately crocheted bras were draped over plain T-shirts. Pencil skirts were modernised with strategic styling: worn over strappy bodysuits and accessorised with yellow-tinted sunglasses. Whereas mesh yellow and green bodycon dresses were sexed-up with circular cutouts running across the body. There was lace, too: buttercup yellow on a lingerie skirt and elsewhere in white and on a floral bodysuit.

The show notes summarised the collection with a quote from Tolstoy: “One can live magnificently in this world if one knows how to work and how to love.” They certainly can – particularly if they’re wearing Rejina Pyo.

At David Koma, we were treated to an outdoor venue, the Theatre Courtyard Gallery, which according to the designer, has hosted some of Shakespeare’s earliest shows. It was perhaps fitting, then, that once the minute’s silence for Her Majesty finished, Koma’s show unleashed drama.



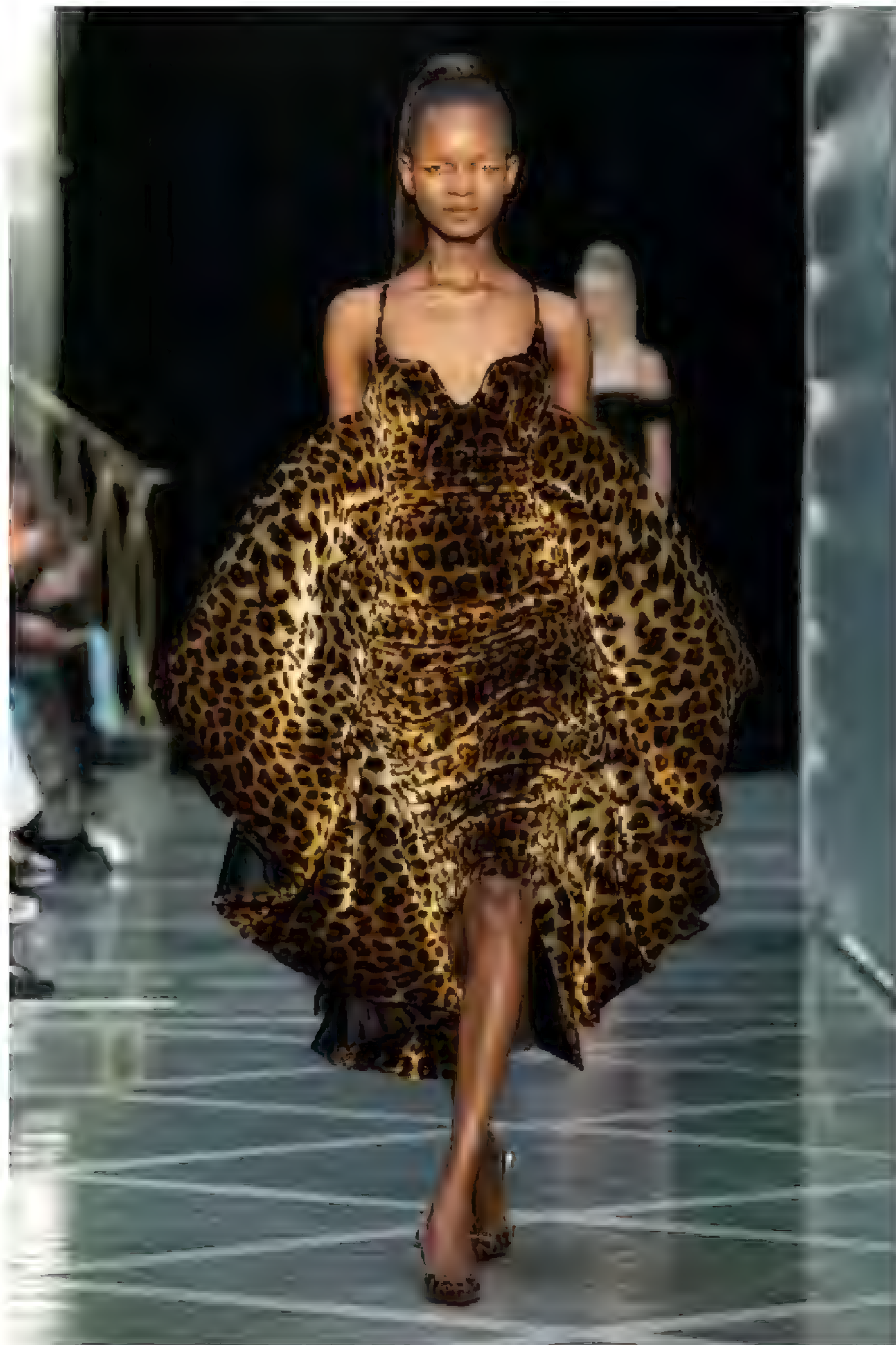
David Koma (Dave Benett/Getty Images for Dav)

“To be honest with you, it all started with a gasoline stain on the pavement,” Koma said backstage. And so, we saw iridescence in buckets, splashed like an oil spill across fitted biker jackets, knee-high boots and costume jewellery that enveloped the body like gleaming muscles from the ocean.

“I tend to be inspired by incredible women in a mostly male-dominated field,” said Koma. This time, it was marine biologist Sylvia Earle, whose poetic description of the world below sparked an obsession in Koma. Despite our reality, sat outside in the midst of global mourning, Koma took us to the deep depths, recreating his own vision of Atlantis with pearlescent pendants, starfish-buckle belts and mirrored barnacle dresses.

Throughout, chainmail was present, perhaps a nod to pageantry, but also his tenure at the house of Mugler, which also lost its figurehead this year. Alongside bejewelled blade inserts and shocking orange slip boots, his traditional tropes – the marabou, the puffball and ballgown – took on a theatrical tone rooted in fantasy. Therein lies the takeaway: for all the accusations of frivolity fashion faces, clothes like these are a welcome refuge in turbulent times.

The same could be said of Halpern’s collection, although, despite the glitz, there was something presciently real at play. Opening the show without any music, just the patter of heels on marbled floor, a model caped in blue with a dégradé headdress lapped the crowd alone.



Halpern (Ik Aldama)

The acoustics of the Royal Exchange Bank where the show took place made this tribute to the late Queen all the more haunting. Then, the show went on as planned. “It’s the only way I know how to do things, through clothing,” Michael Halpern told us after the show. This was his way of saying thank you and sorry.

“For me, the most respectful thing you can do is keep on creating,” said Halpern. And boy, did he. Sumptuous velvet blazers glistened so much that actual rainbows scattered the floor before models. Meanwhile, unprecedented quantities of sequin dazzled the audience. *Literally!*

At points, you could actually smell the lubricated latex of baby-pink evening gloves as they shimmied past the crowd.

Meanwhile, tulle-topped jumpsuits brought a Bowie-influenced edge to the designer's disco designs. Inappropriate? Not at all. Inspiring? Absolutely. Again, despite the fantastic elements at play, this came from an honest love of dress-up.

Michael, who grew up in New York with a mother that cherished him as he is, loved Barbie as a child, and so, the pink wigs, Play-Doh palette and strappy heels all felt honest. The icing on this voluptuous, infinitely ruched cake? Barbie handbags with fuchsia typeface, designed as part of an exclusive collaboration. If you're looking for the new it-bag, consider it found.

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Section 2/ Hit Pause

Why even make us doubt just how evil Daemon is?

There's no shortage of villains in 'House of the Dragon', writes **Amanda Whiting**. What makes Mat Smith's wife-murdering sociopath stand out most is occasional goodness



Matt Smith as Daemon Targaryen in 'House of the Dragon' (HBO)

When the newest episode of *House of the Dragon* opened, I was shocked to see a glimpse of greenery. We've spent so much of the show's inaugural season in dusty King's Landing, with only

the War for the Stepstones' grim seaside theatre as a visual reprieve. *House of the Dragon* is, so far, a show about power-mad blondes in their sepia-toned castle.

My relief was short-lived, of course. It quickly becomes clear that we're in the Vale, home to Daemon's neglected wife, Lady Rhea – or, as Daemon calls her in episode one, “my bronze bitch”. He greets her wordlessly from under a hooded cloak, looking more like Luke Skywalker in his soul-searching period than the hero who vanquished the Crabfeeder. Rhea taunts him: she's not going to sleep with him, he's been usurped by a teeny-tiny little girl, even his own brother hates him, etc. It's unkind, but Daemon's response is... *disproportionate*. He spooks Rhea's horse, which throws her violently to the ground. When the fall doesn't finish the job, he crushes his missus's skull to death with a nearby stone.

It's been tricky to pinpoint where Daemon Targaryen – *The Crown*'s Matt Smith hiding beneath a halo of milk-white hair – falls on the scale from a little bit sinister to pure evil. You could argue that other characters in HBO's extravagant sequel to *Game of Thrones* – Daemon's niece Rhaenyra, his brother King Viserys – have been behaving even worse. But after last night's brutal murder, it's hard to make the case that Daemon is a man burdened by conscience at all.

And yet just last week, we (almost) would have! After taking his niece Rhaenyra out for a night of drinking and debauchery, Daemon refuses to have sex with her – a move that could have served him no matter the consequences. If Viserys found out and forced them to wed, Daemon would be powerful by association with the queen. If news of their dalliance destroyed Rhaenyra's reputation, he'd be one step closer to snatching the Iron Throne for himself. I realise I'm giving an adult man whose actual name is “daemon” a lot of credit for not sleeping with his own teenage relative, but that says more about Westeros than it does about me.

Listen, no one looks good when they're playing the game of thrones. But it's the manner of Rhea's killing that pushes Daemon far past redeemability. Her death will be mistaken for a

hunting accident, but there are lots of ways to make a murder look accidental. Daemon wants Rhea to know it was him. He wants the power of making her afraid. He even pauses long enough for her to realise why he's there – to make room on his ring finger for his niece – before he attacks.



Vaemond Velaryon (Wil Johnson), Daemon (Smith) and Laenor Velaryon (Theo Nate) (HBO)

His villainy isn't exactly surprising. We were exposed to his unchecked ego and hair trigger earlier in the season when he killed a king's messenger because he didn't like the message. But the more monstrous Daemon behaves, the more perplexing it is to me that the series ever attempted to depict him as somehow more complicated than a jealous little brother.

What does it matter that his incestuous affection for his niece is real if he's also the guy who took her to a brothel and exposed her to ruin? What to make of his valiant last stand in the Stepstones, if he can kill his own wife without uttering a single word?

House of the Dragon is developing a bad habit of a certain kind of shallow storytelling. It raises big questions that the series doesn't care to answer. Take sexism. The show doesn't endorse misogyny, but it also doesn't have much to say about it. Viewers are asked to swim in its toxicity simply because it serves the plot.

Similarly, what does it mean in *House of the Dragon* that someone as evil as Daemon isn't purely, 100 per cent evil? If he can still kill an innocent person in a manner that maximises fear and suffering, my guess is that it doesn't mean much.

At least by the end of episode five, we can stop wondering about Daemon's softer side – a sociopathic wife-murderer who was sometimes a good uncle is still just a sociopathic wife-murderer. But what can it portend for the fate of the realm that he's still – somehow – one of *House of the Dragon*'s most likeable characters?

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Currency crisis could force the Bank's hand on rates



Is the Bank of England about to impose the sharpest rise in rates since 1989? (AP)

JAMES MOORE

CHIEF BUSINESS COMMENTATOR

The Bank of England's Monetary Policy Committee (MPC) belatedly gets to work this week after the delay caused by the suspension of its scheduled meeting "as a mark of respect" to the late Queen.

A large part of the City is betting on it imposing a 0.75 percentage-point increase in rates, the sharpest since 1989 as the government prepares an emergency budget, although there is a sizeable camp still banking on 0.5 percentage points.

In favour of the bigger number is the fact that central banks often hunt in packs. The US Federal Reserve, the European Central Bank and several of their peers have already imposed rises of this degree.

Rather lost in the fog created by the Queen's death is also the fact that the UK is currently in the midst of what very much looks like a currency crisis.

It was richly ironic that the pound slumped to a 70-year low against the dollar on Friday, which was also the 30th anniversary of its ejection from the European Exchange Rate Mechanism. Europe was a problem for the Tories then, just as it is now.

The ERM debacle shattered the party's reputation for economic competence and ultimately sowed the seeds for Labour's thumping 1997 victory, which brought to an end an 18-year period of Conservative hegemony.

Are we on the cusp of a similar moment, albeit with different causes?

The pound has declined by 16 per cent against the dollar over the last year. Needless to say, that is highly inflationary. It makes the UK's imports much more expensive and it argues for an end to the Bank's favoured gradualist approach.

Catherine Mann, an external member of the MPC, called for a more aggressive approach in a speech a week ago. She said the UK might need a "fast and forceful" monetary tightening.

Mann is among a trio of external MPC hawks who have consistently voted for half-point rises during the current cycle. The rest of the committee had backed a quarter-point move until the most recent meeting went eight to one for a half-point rise.

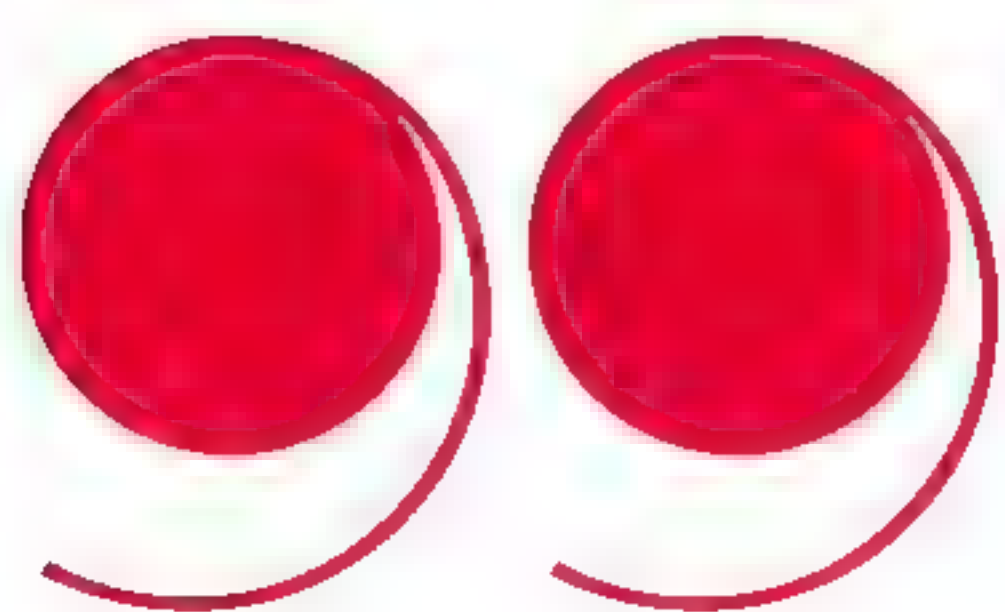
One of the three, Michael Saunders, has since left to be replaced by Swati Dhingra, associate professor of economics at the

London School of Economics. But I would expect Mann and Jonathan Haskel to vote for the 0.75 percentage-point rise at the forthcoming meeting. The fourth external member, Silvana Tenreyro, is perhaps the MPC's most dovish member and she would seem likely to favour 0.5, or maybe even less. This would leave the "in-house" team as the swing voters.

It is worth noting that inflation dipped a bit – to 9.9 per cent – in August. A fall in petrol prices was the main help (mercifully, the Office for National Statistics did not postpone the release of the figures as "a mark of respect" for the Queen).



Never take responsibility was Boris Johnson's mantra. Why would Liz Truss be any different?



But there wasn't really much comfort to be had from them. Food prices are still running hot. Wage settlements continue to fall well below the rise in the cost of living. The most recent retail sales figures were, meanwhile, rotten (sales volumes fell by 1.6 per cent), which played into recession fears and sterling's woes.

That's the economic backdrop. But how much of a role will politics play in the decision? I would expect the Bank to pooh-pooh the notion, pointing to its independence and mandate.

Yet it must at least be at the back of governor Andrew Bailey's mind, and perhaps some of his colleagues' too.

Backbench Tory MPs have been sniping at Threadneedle Street. The Truss campaign did the same during the Conservative

leadership battle. It damped down the rhetoric only when it seemed clear that Ms Truss was going to win the day.

Some economists think the Bank will have to respond to the energy price support her government has delivered by increasing rates by more than they otherwise would have because the plan will serve to pump a large amount of extra money into the economy. This despite the fact that it will also take an estimated four to six points off inflation's peak. This is economics. There's a reason it has been called "the dismal science".

Even more obviously inflationary are the government's plans to give fortunate Britons a bung, courtesy of tax cuts, abandoning the concept of fiscal responsibility, which has to varying degrees been the party's calling card. International investors, and the markets, are running scared of this. It is another reason for the pound sinking like a stone.

The Bank will be aware that it will be blamed should inflation remain stubbornly high, even if the cause is government policy. Never take responsibility was Boris Johnson's mantra. Why would Liz Truss be any different? She's shown every sign that she intends to lather, rinse, repeat.

All of this points to some very bad news for mortgage holders coming off fixed-rate deals. The Bank has only the blunt instrument of rates to bring inflation down. It is going to have to use them quickly and forcefully, to paraphrase Mann.

There is one consolation for Bailey and his colleagues: voters are inclined to blame the government of the day if they're feeling poor, even if one of the causes is the MPC bringing the hammer down.

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Bees stung as dominant Arsenal reclaim top spot

Brentford	0
Arsenal	3
Saliba (17), Jesus (28), Vieira (49)	



Fabio Vieira’s debut goal wrapped up an impressive win for the Gunners (AFP/Getty)

ANDY SIMMS
AT THE GTECH COMMUNITY STADIUM

Arsenal climbed back to the top of the Premier League and avenged last year's humbling at Brentford with a clinical 3-0 victory.

The Gunners were back at the scene of their dismal opening-day defeat last season which pre-empted their worst start to a campaign for 67 years.

But they are a different animal this term and proved it with an organised, inventive display and three well-taken goals from William Saliba, Gabriel Jesus and Fabio Vieira.

Such was Arsenal's dominance that Mikel Arteta could even afford to give 15-year-old midfielder Ethan Nwaneri a late run-out as a substitute, making him the Premier League's youngest ever player.

Brentford had put four past Manchester United and five past Leeds at the Gtech Community Stadium in recent weeks but they could not lay a glove on Arsenal, with England new boy Ivan Toney an isolated presence in attack.



William Saliba celebrates after putting Arsenal in front (Getty)

As early as the second minute, Gabriel Martinelli passed up a gilt-edged chance by slipping when in front of goal, his mishit shot rolling tamely to Bees keeper David Raya.

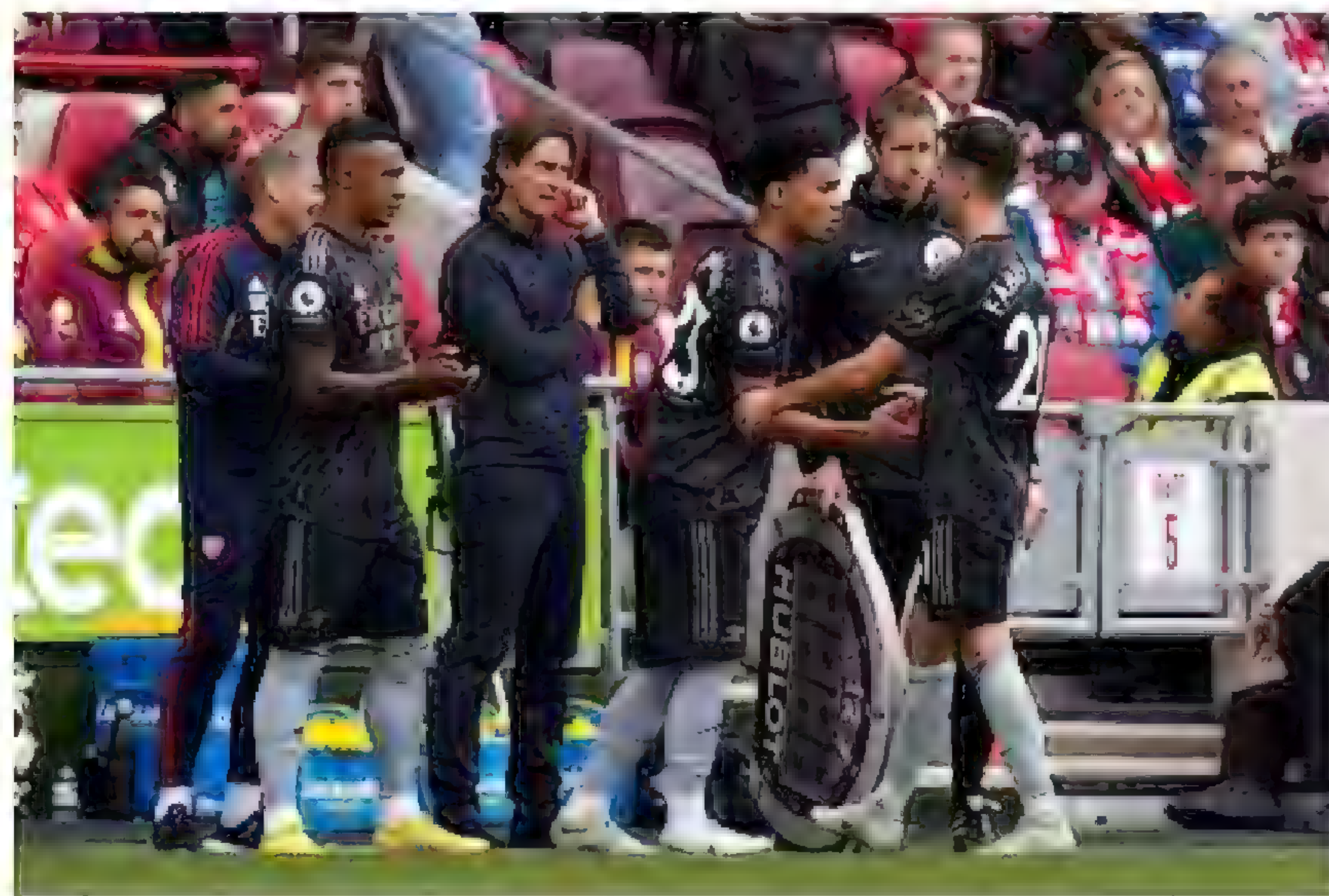
However, the Gunners did take the lead on 18 minutes, Saliba's glancing header from Bukayo Saka's corner bouncing off the inside of the far post. Raya tried to scoop it out but the ball was

well over the line and referee David Coote's watch buzzed to indicate a goal.

Ten minutes later Jesus doubled the lead with another header, this time from a neat chip into the box from Granit Xhaka.

Saka should have made it three moments later after a defensive mix-up but the England winger blazed his shot over.

The second half began in a similar vein and when Saka laid the ball off to Vieira 25 yards out, the Portugal midfielder – on his first Premier League start since his £34m summer switch from Porto – took aim and curled a superb finish in off the post.



Ethan Nwaneri (second right) became the youngest ever Premier League player (PA Wire)

Toney's only real chance came with a free kick, from around the range which he fired home the second goal of his hat-trick against Leeds. This time the 26-year-old flicked the ball up before taking aim and sent his shot narrowly over the crossbar.

Having set two goals up, Saka fancied one himself but he was denied from the edge of the box by a flying save from Raya.

Toney had tweeted "nice kickabout with the boys" in the aftermath of last season's win, a message which infuriated Arteta. The Arsenal fans were quick to remind the striker, ending the match with a rendition of "Ivan Toney, a stroll in the park" while celebrating heading into the international break back on top of the league.

PA

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Maupay gives Everton lift as Hammers' troubles grow

Everton Maupay (53)	1
West Ham United	0



The striker's first goal for the club earned Frank Lampard's side their first win of the season (Getty)

RICHARD JOLLY
AT GOODISON PARK

For once, David Moyes could not celebrate the most Moyesian of triumphs. Over an 11-year reign at Goodison Park, there was often the sense that when Everton really needed a win, they would find a way to grind one out. It might be ugly, it could be effective and it would probably be 1-0. On the Scot's return to Merseyside, he was greeted with a familiar outcome. The problem for Moyes was that his West Ham suffered as a result of the Evertonian graft and grit he used to imbue. They were left in the relegation zone by his own methods.

A reunion was a happier affair for former Hammer Frank Lampard. A belated first victory means Everton's start to the season is transformed into a platform. The previous time they claimed three points, against Crystal Palace in May, it secured their survival on a seminal evening that ended with Lampard bouncing up and down on the roof of an executive box. This was not quite of the same proportions but it felt vital nonetheless. It was an endorsement of an overhaul, a sense of justification for Lampard's rebuilding project.

Everton had shown signs of progress but optimism can only be retained while winless for so long. Now they are unbeaten in five games, with clean sheets in the last two. Neal Maupay was scarcely the most glamorous of signings but his first Everton goal was both well-taken and decisive. While Said Benrahma curled a 20-yard shot against the post, a West Ham squad furnished with £150m of signings could not respond in kind.



Frank Lampard celebrates with Maupay as David Moyes looks on (Getty)

In a game featuring two sides who arrived with seven goals between them this season, any finish had the potential to be crucial. Everton struck with their first shot on target, which did not come in a forgettable opening half. They lacked much of a threat before the break, for all Maupay's verve, with a lack of creativity threatening to stifle them.

Then Maupay accepted Alex Iwobi's pass, spun and unleashed a snap-shot that flew past Lukasz Fabianski. Maupay acquired a reputation for glaring misses at Brighton but he has long the ability to take harder chances and this was a clinical finish. Lampard has been an admirer of the Frenchman since his Brentford days and this was early vindication for a distinctly unfashionable signing. Maupay has assumed an added importance for other reasons: this had been pencilled in for Dominic Calvert-Lewin's comeback but Lampard took the cautious approach and did not even name the striker on the bench. Maupay ensured he was not required.

Lampard made another telling choice. With Seamus Coleman a substitute and Jordan Pickford injured, Conor Coady captained Everton on just his sixth appearance for them. He produced a terrific interception to stop Michail Antonio from converting Jarrod Bowen's cross. Coady excelled again in partnership with another summer signing, James Tarkowski, and their defiance is a reason why only Brighton have conceded fewer goals than Everton.

They scarcely produced free-flowing football but Lampard is rendering them hard to beat and, from the influential Idrissa Gueye to the impressive Iwobi, others lent solidity and energy. Demarai Gray was bright after the break, troubling Vladimir Coufal and delivering a couple of enticing crosses, and both full-backs again offered evidence of their improvement.

They helped shield a second-choice goalkeeper. Pickford's deputy Asmir Begovic was a spectator for swathes of the game. He held Kurt Zouma's header and did well to tip over a shot

from the substitute, and former Everton target, Maxwell Cornet, who at least brought dynamism in his cameo.



Everton celebrate after scoring their only goal against West Ham (Getty)

But West Ham worked Begovic too infrequently. Bowen dispatched a half-volley over the bar but is yet to open his Premier League account for the season or regain the spark he showed in spring. Tomas Soucek flashed a header wide but while West Ham applied pressure at the end, they lacked incision.

They have still scored far more goals against Danish than English clubs this season and if that partly reflects the Europa Conference League draw, it reflects the way their domestic campaign needs kickstarting. Five of Moyes' summer signings began on the bench, with only Thilo Kehrer and Lucas Paqueta starting and the Brazilian was snuffed out by Gueye.

In Coady and Tarkowski, Gueye and Amadou Onana, much of the spine of Lampard's side consisted of his recruits. In Maupay, they included the match-winner. For Moyes, the manner of Everton's victory may have seemed all too recognisable.

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India dominate England in first one-day match of series



Smriti Mandhana drives the ball on her way to making 91 at Hove yesterday (PA)

SPORTS STAFF

Smriti Mandhana's stylish 91 off 99 balls marshalled India's successful pursuit of 228 as they drew first blood in their one-day international series against England at Hove.

After England lurched to 128 for six having been asked to bat first, Alice Davidson-Richards registered her first ODI half-century, finishing 50 not out from 61 deliveries to lift the hosts to 227 for seven.

Kate Cross made an early breakthrough in the reply but Mandhana expertly anchored India's chase in an innings – her highest in ODIs against England – containing 10 fours and one straight six off Issy Wong.



Mandhana's elegant innings helped India to victory (PA)

While Mandhana fell nine short of a ton and with her side still needing 30, India captain Harmanpreet Kaur's 74 not out from 94 balls got them over the line with seven wickets and 5.4 overs to spare.

As India bounced back from a 2-1 Twenty20 series defeat to claim victory in this first ODI, England will rue reprieving Yastika Bhatia, who made a quickfire 50 off 47 balls after being dropped on seven.

Mandhana put on 96 with Bhatia then 99 with Kaur after Cross struck with her third ball of India's reply, persuading Shafali Verma to flick to midwicket, where Charlie Dean took a fine diving catch.

Mandhana settled into her innings with back-to-back fours off Cross, driving then cutting the England bowler, although India could have been two down with just 20 on the board as Wong's

bumper caught Bhatia by surprise, with a flick off the glove put down by England wicketkeeper Amy Jones.

It seemed a pivotal moment and England's luck was summarised when Wong induced the inside edge of Mandhana later in the over only to see the ball sail past leg stump.

India's batters were finding boundaries with ease – but Bhatia was given another reprieve on 25 after top-edging a pull, which went for six but only because Wong had strayed too far in from deep fine leg.

Two balls after reaching 50, Bhatia charged at Dean, who found a gap between bat and pad to bowl India's number three, but Mandhana and Kaur were even more assured as they gave England few openings.

The only surprise was that Mandhana, who made an unbeaten 79 in India's T20 win at Derby, was not there at the finish as she got a leading edge off Cross to mid-on.

Kaur, while not as fluent as Mandhana, took the baton and guided India to their victory target with a swipe for six off Davidson-Richards, who had earlier boosted England's prospects.

England's top order were unable to put together a partnership of any substance on a slow wicket – with Alice Capsey out for 19 on her ODI debut – and were 94 for five before Danni Wyatt, having helped the total to 128, was bowled for 43 on the sweep to leave them teetering.

But they were bolstered by Davidson-Richards, who made a century on her Test debut earlier this summer, with the number seven putting on 50 with Sophie Ecclestone (31) and an unbroken 49 with Dean (24).

Their efforts were in vain although England will look to bounce back in the second ODI at Canterbury on Wednesday.

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Sport/ Boxing



Going, going, gone: fierce rivalry put to bed by Alvarez



Saul 'Canelo' Alvarez (right) was a unanimous-decision winner against Gennady Golovkin (Getty)

ALEX PATTLE

COMBAT SPORTS CORRESPONDENT

Over the course of 12 rounds in Las Vegas on Saturday night, “GGG” took on an unfortunate new meaning for Gennady Golovkin, as his chances of securing “justice” in his trilogy with

Saul “Canelo” Alvarez were rapidly going, going, and then gone at last.

Judging controversies marred the rivals’ first two encounters, in 2017 and 2018, denying Golovkin one if not two victories over Canelo, and the irony on this occasion was that the Kazakh might have finally been on the “right” end of one, had he not left it too late to start firing.

But leaving it late was the theme of this bout, which pitted a prime Canelo at 32 against an aged Golovkin at 40, and that factor gave way to a disconcerting tentativeness in GGG, who rallied late but was in truth not worth the 116-112, 115-113, 115-113 scorecards – all of which favoured Canelo, in any case.

September, the T-Mobile Arena, and stupefying scorecards have been staples of this rivalry, with only the division varying this time around as the middleweight foes clashed at super-middleweight, as Canelo put his IBF, WBC, WBA and WBO titles on the line.

Golovkin impressively outboxed Canelo five years ago, only to be forced to settle for a draw with the Mexican, who claimed a disputable victory in the closest of rematches 12 months later. As the gladiators returned to their coliseum for one final battle, the problem for Golovkin was that – for once – this didn’t seem like a matter of life and death.

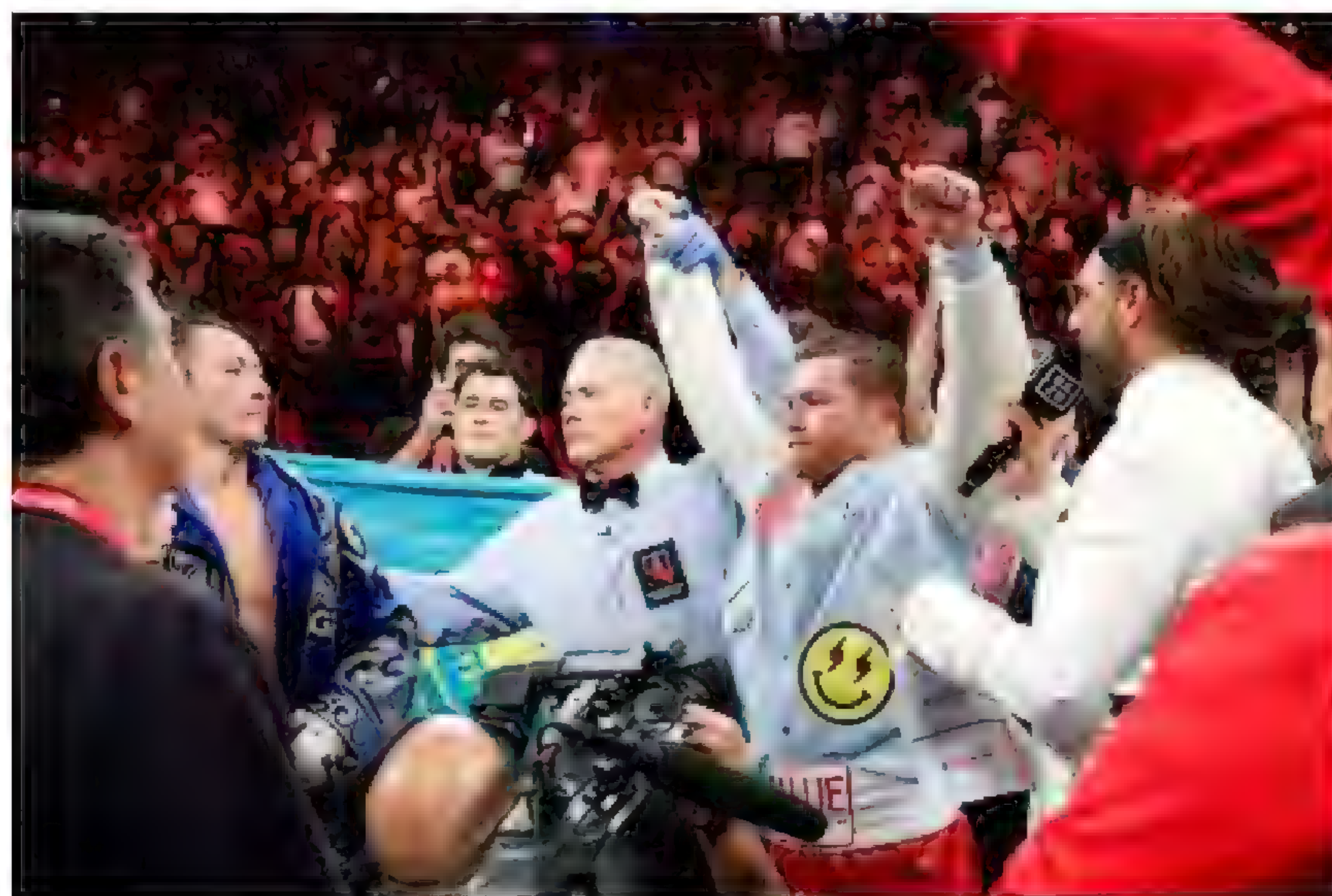
The middleweight champion has been so bewitchingly brutal over the course of a 16-year professional career and has vowed to carry on, but his greatest assets were absent for the first eight rounds here as he dared not risk opening himself up to the power of his opponent.

Canelo was content to back up the Kazakh and fire off intermittent hooks to the body, feeling no need to take risks of his own given the tepid offence coming his way.

Gradually Alvarez began to shift attention to Golovkin’s head, and though GGG displayed intelligent defence, it meant little when weighed against the lack of output that saw him give up round after round.

At least, that was the perception of most, rather than what was reflected in the scorecards.

Golovkin finally heeded his coach's calls for greater volume and tenacity once the fight had crossed its midway point, but the veteran's prying jabs and corkscrew hooks might have won him the final four rounds at most, by any sensible measure.



Alvarez is expected to rematch Dmitry Bivol at light-heavyweight next (Getty)

Given the judges' views of the situation, however, GGG will surely regret his slow start. As far as they were concerned, a more positive approach by Golovkin could easily have sealed a draw.

But three wrongs do not make a right. Even if Golovkin had made his own luck by asserting himself in the ring and getting a fortunate nod outside of it, the same bitter taste that lingered after the Kazakh's controversial loss to and draw with Canelo would have resurfaced here.

For those sad to see one of boxing's greats come away from this trilogy with two defeats and a draw, there might at least be some strange solace in knowing that Canelo proved little on this night.

The Mexican had the opportunity to capitalise on Golovkin's faltering speed and troubling trepidation, but he failed to deliver the knockout that he had promised.

Canelo will have to be sharper if his next venture is to be a rematch with light-heavyweight champion Dmitry Bivol, who holds the kind of legitimate victory over Alvarez that Golovkin was denied in 2017, and arguably again in 2018.

If Canelo can level the score with Bivol, perhaps another storied trilogy awaits.

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Sport news in brief



Robert MacIntyre after his spectacular win in Rome yesterday (Getty)

MacIntyre takes Italian Open title after play-off

Scotland's Robert MacIntyre defeated US Open champion Matt Fitzpatrick in a play-off to win his second DP World Tour title in the Italian Open. MacIntyre birdied the first extra hole at Marco Simone Golf and Country Club after he and Fitzpatrick had finished tied on 14 under par, a shot ahead of France's Victor Perez. Pre-tournament favourite Rory McIlroy, who was within a shot of the lead until hitting his tee shot on the 16th into the water, finished fourth on 12 under.

MacIntyre began the final round three shots off Fitzpatrick's lead but stormed to the top of the leaderboard with six birdies in

a front nine of 29. Two more left him three strokes clear, but the Englishman came agonisingly close to an albatross on the par-five 12th as his approach from 212 yards hit the centre of the pin and left him just three feet for eagle, while MacIntyre was dropping a shot on the 14th. MacIntyre also bogeyed the 15th but birdied the 16th and 18th to set the clubhouse target, with Fitzpatrick also making a birdie on the final hole to force the play-off after dropping a shot on the 17th.

Price wins World Series darts title

Gerwyn Price won his second World Series of Darts title last night after a thriller against Dirk van Duijvenbode. Price, the world number one, held his nerve with his 11-10 victory in the final. "I knew it would be a tough battle but I dug in until the end," said Price. Price had reached the final after an 11-9 win over England's James Wade, while Van Duijvenbode got past defending champion Jonny Clayton of Wales 11-8.

Chelsea stutter as Liverpool come good

Liverpool beat the defending champions Chelsea 2-1 yesterday as three penalties ultimately decided who walked away as the winner in front of a record 3,006 fans at Prenton Park, with Fran Kirby getting the dominant visitors on the scoresheet inside three minutes. But the Reds capitalised whenever they could, with Stengel equalising from the spot in the second half and then sending Zecira Musovic the wrong way on 87 minutes to seal Liverpool's triumphant top-flight return. *PA*

Beleaguered Worcester beaten by Exeter

Exeter ensured there was no fairytale ending to a turbulent week for beleaguered as the Chiefs claimed a 36-21 victory at Sixways. The crisis-hit Warriors, with debts spiralling as high as £25mn, just met Friday's deadline to allow the Gallagher Premiership fixture to take place with their support staff having to perform miracles to meet stringent regulations in order to do so.

Worcester played with huge spirit but Exeter always had the edge and ended up outscoring their hosts five tries to three. *PA*

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